A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

WILLIAM WARREN SWEET

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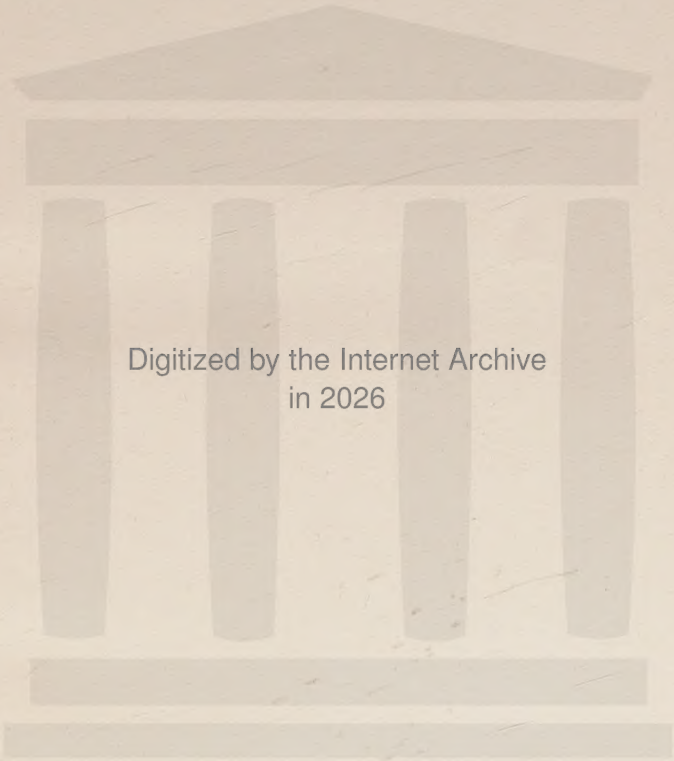
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A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

By

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

THE ABINGDON PRESS

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PREFACE

This book, designed to meet the need for a suitable text in Latin American History, has grown out of a class-room experience, and has been prepared primarily for students and teachers. The author has had in mind, however, the many outside of schools and colleges who are seeking information about our neighbors to the South, and hopes that to this class of readers the book will have a large appeal.

Believing it to be the better plan, reading references to easily obtainable books have been given at the end of each chapter, rather than a more complete bibliography containing books practically unobtainable. For this reason also only books in English have been cited.

Thanks are due Professors McDonald, of Indiana University; Katharine S. Alvord, of DePauw University; and William T. Allison, of the University of Manitoba, all of whom read parts of the manuscript.

W. W. S.

Greencastle, Indiana,
DePauw University,
October 1, 1918.

that of any other European people. This was due to the fact that during the long period of six hundred years the Christian states of the peninsula were engaged in a bitter struggle with the followers of Mohammed, who had conquered the southern part of their country in the early part of the eighth century, and were not finally overcome until the very year Columbus set sail upon his first voyage. (4) This long struggle against the Moors in Spain tended to create but two chief interests among the people—war and religion; and these two interests dominated the whole life of the people. (5) Lastly, due to intolerance of other faiths, the industrial classes, the Jews and the Moors, were driven out of the country, and as the Spaniards were not producers of wealth, the country was reduced to a deplorable economic condition, just at the time the New World was opening up to Europeans.

The oldest inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula were called Iberians. In the course of time other peoples, supposed to be of Celtic origin, mingled with the original inhabitants. By the third century B. C. there were several distinct tribes, each having its own language and customs. Among these tribes were the Asturians in the northwest, the Cantabrians to the east, while in the north-central portion were the Basques, supposed to represent the original Iberians. The Galacians occupied the seacoasts to the extreme northwest and the Lusitanians dwelt in what is now Portugal. Thus we see from earliest times there were several different peoples, inhabiting what is now Spain and Portugal. These people were in a semibarbaric state, though there are traditions and numerous stories which tell of trade with the Phœnicians, and we have definite knowledge that the latter, pioneers of commerce in the ancient world, established a brisk trade in the precious metals with the Iberians.

I. The People of the Iberian Peninsula a Mixed Race. Early Races

The first people to establish a colony in Spain were the Greeks, who, following the example of the Phœnicians, opened up trade, and later established colonies along the southern coast. The Carthaginians, however, were the first to attempt a conquest of the country. The invasion was effected by

Hamilcar Barca (B. C. 241–218), who saw in the Spanish silver mines the means of carrying on the struggle with Rome, and in the people a hardy soldiery, "that would match even the legions of Rome." After nine years of hard fighting a large part of the peninsula was conquered and brought under the dominion of Carthage. When Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar Barca, took command of the forces of Carthage, he had at his command the men and money his father had secured through the Spanish conquest. In the second Punic war, however, Publius Scipio destroyed the Carthaginian power in Spain, and from B. C. 202 for a period of six hundred years Spain was a part of the Roman empire.

The Carthaginian Conquest of Spain

In many respects the Roman conquest of Spain was the most important of all the invasions of that country, for to it Spain and Portugal owe the basis of their language. Under republican Rome, Spain was divided into two provinces, called Hither and Farther Spain. This was a period of much disturbance, for the rule of the Roman officials was so corrupt that the tribes revolted, and it was not until B. C. 113 that most of the country was subdued and a settled government established. After this the Romanization of the country progressed rapidly. Disbanded Roman soldiers were sent as colonizers; Roman legionaries, quartered in Spain, married Spanish wives, and when relieved from duty settled down as permanent inhabitants; cities on the Roman model were built, and in the course of time Spain became the most completely Romanized of all the Roman provinces. Under the empire Spain was redivided into three provinces, Terraconensis in the southern part, Boetica to the north, and Lusitania on the extreme west. The resources of the country were developed as never before and a literature sprang up, which represented the best Latin literature of the period, Seneca being the chief literary star of Spain. It is interesting in this connection to note that the chief Latin writers, who follow the group of the Augustan period, mostly hailed from the provinces, many of them coming from Spain, so that the prophecy, made in the early years of the conquest, "that

The Roman Conquest, B. C. 202–A. D. 418

point of social enlightenment, the most hopeful in the history of the peninsula. The process of race affiliation and assimilation had begun, and through the mingling of the elements present there was forming a new nation, big with the prospects of great material achievement."

Although there was considerable mixing of these three races during the early mediæval period, when they lived together in mutual respect, yet the mixing went on more rapidly after persecution of the Jews and the Moors. As the influence of the church and the church officials came to be greater in the peninsula, toleration gave way to intolerance. The church taught the people to abhor the Jew, and from time to time the spirit of persecution broke out against them. The tolerant attitude toward the Moor also underwent a change, and by the thirteenth century the attempt was made to compel both the Jews and the Moors to wear peculiar garbs, in order that they might at once be recognized and avoided. From the year 1300 popular hatred of the Jews greatly increased, and in the year 1391 there occurred a great and terribly cruel massacre.

Persecution of the Jews After 1300. Their Intermarriage with Spaniards

Popular passion against the hated race was aroused by the preaching of an official connected with the court of the Archbishop of Seville, and a wave of persecution swept over the entire kingdom of Castile, spreading at length to Aragon. Public authority was paralyzed, Jewries were sacked, and the Jews who would not submit to baptism were ruthlessly killed. As a result of this terrible persecution Castile and Aragon suffered a shock to their commerce and industry, which was largely in Jewish and Moorish hands, from which they never recovered. After this many Jews professed conversion, and were known as conversos. These conversos made up a considerable proportion of the population, and many of them reached positions of authority in both church and state, where they became even more fanatical than the Spaniards themselves. Intermarriage between these conversos and the Spaniards became frequent, due to the desire of the poor Spanish nobility to recoup their fortunes, and by 1500 most of the great families of Spain had Jewish blood in their veins.

SPAIN
AT FOUR PERIODS
1. Ancient Spain
2. Eleventh Century
3. Beginning of Thirteenth Century
4. Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries
1
LUSITANIA
BÆTICA
2
OVIEDO
ASTURIA
LEON
CASTILE
NAVARRE
BARCELONA
SPANISH MARK
EMIRATE OF SARAGOSSA
EMIRATE OF BADAJOZ
EMIRATE OF TOLEDO
EMIRATE OF VALENCIA
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
EMIRATE OF SEVILLE
EMIRATE OF GRANADA
AFTER FALL OF THE OMMIADS
3
LEON
NAVARRE
CASTILE
ARAGON
BARCELONA
DOURO R.
PORTUGAL
TAIG US R.
TOLEDO
ALMOHADES
GRANADA
SEVILLE
4
PORTUGAL
CASTILE
ARAGON
GRANADA

Thus was one Oriental element added to the Spanish race.

The fact that the Spaniard came to be the most intolerant of Europeans is due to the long struggle between the Spaniard and the Moor rather than to anything inherent in Spanish character. As we have already seen, during the early period of Mohammedan rule in Spain, a degree of tolerance was developed unknown in other European countries. The little Christian states which arose in northern Spain were only Christian in name. Moor and Christian fought side by side. "The Cid," the traditional hero of Christian Spain, fought with Moor and Christian alike; for although he led the forces of Castile, he nevertheless had Moors in his employ. When, however, these Christian states had grown to considerable size, and had become better organized, the influence of the church naturally increased and the Roman Church has never been noted for her toleration of other faiths. The early struggles with the Moors were not crusades against the infidel, but were waged, like all mediæval wars, for plunder or territory. The crusading spirit in Spain and Portugal arose at the same time as in other European states. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the centuries of the crusades, when all Christian Europe was aroused against the infidel, Spain with the rest. Spain, however, took little or no part in the expeditions to capture the holy places; her crusading zeal was confined to the destruction of the infidel at her very doors.

III. Growth of Intolerance in Spain

During these years the church urged the Christian states of Spain to rid themselves of the disgrace of harboring the infidel. The Jew and the Moor were held up before the people as enemies of God and the Christian race. While the other European states were organizing their orders of Christian knights, such as the Knights Templars, the Knights Hospitalers, and the Teutonic Knights, the Spanish and Portuguese crusaders were organizing their orders of the Santiago, and Calatrava, of Alcantara, and Evora. The European orders fought the infidel in Syria and in the Holy Land, but the Portuguese and Spanish knight fought the infidel in his

own peninsula. The Spanish and Portuguese crusades lasted much longer than the crusades among the other European states. Gradually the crusading spirit died out in France and England and Germany, and by the end of the fourteenth century it was no longer a factor in Europe, but not so in Spain and Portugal. Here it lasted until the Moor was completely conquered, or driven beyond the borders of Spain, and this was not finally accomplished until the very year 1492. The crusading energy was effective in driving the Moors farther and farther southward, and on July 6, 1212, the five confederated states of Castile, Aragon, Leon, Navarre, and Portugal won the decisive battle of Las Navos de Tolosa, and the fate of Spain was decided in favor of the Christian states. In 1236 Cordoba, the capital of the Kalifs, fell, and in 1248 Seville was taken by the Christian armies. With the fall of Seville the organized effort to drive the Moors out of Spain came to an end, for the latter, retiring to the mountains of Granada, maintained themselves for two hundred and fifty years longer, only to be finally conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Spanish and Portuguese Crusades Against the Moors

The Battle of Las Navos de Tolosa, July 6, 1212

The spirit of intolerance engendered by these long wars against the Moors came to its final flower in the Spanish Inquisition. In 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella requested authorization of the pope for the appointment of themselves as inquisitors to root out heresy. To this request the pope readily consented, and in September of that year a special court was established at Seville, and the famous Inquisition began its work. At first the Jews and Moors were not subject to its jurisdiction, but on March 20, 1492, the policy in this respect was changed, and all the Jews were ordered either to change their religion or leave the country by July 31. This decree instituted one of the most cruel and heartless persecutions in history. Thus the same year which saw the discovery of America and the capture of Granada saw the expulsion of at least one hundred thousand Jews and the enforced conversion of many more thousands. In 1500 the Moors were likewise brought under

The Spanish Inquisition

the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and their enforced conversion or expulsion followed.

By the year 1500 Spain had become the Catholic nation, par excellence, and her monarchs were known as the most Catholic kings. She had become the eldest daughter of the papacy and the chief agent in carrying out the papal policy throughout the world.

Another result of the long wars against the Moors was the fact that war and religion came to be the dominant interests in the life of the peninsula. In the early years of the struggle against the Moors refugees fled northward, where they lived in the mountain fastnesses. There they occupied themselves in fighting and plundering, and every man of them considered himself an hidalgo or a knight. And this was not only true in the early days, but continued to be one of the peculiarities of Spanish society. Every pure-blooded Spaniard considered himself as belonging to at least the lower order of the nobility, and there were but two occupations a noble Spaniard might honorably enter—the army and the church.

IV. War and Religion Become the Dominant Interests in the Life of Spain

Spanish society in the sixteenth century seemed to exist for the church rather than the church for society. In this century there were in Spain "58 archbishoprics, 684 bishoprics, 11,400 monasteries, 23,000 brotherhoods, 46,000 monks, 13,000 nuns, 312,000 secular priests, and more than 400,000 ecclesiastics, while there were 80,000 civil servants, and 367,000 other officials." All these ministered to a population of perhaps six millions of people. So devoted to religion and its practices was Spain of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that there were actually more holy days than there were days in the year; thus a pious Spanish layman might devote every day in the year to religious observances. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the reform of the Spanish church had been accomplished, under the direction of the great Cardinal Ximines, and the Spanish church served as a model for the reform of the whole Catholic Church at the Council of Trent. Accordingly, the Spanish conquistador of America was imbued with the typical

Importance of Religion in Spain in the Sixteenth Century

religious ideas of his country; to spread religion and to convert the natives of the New World was one of the chief motives which led him to undertake discovery and colonization. To him religion and war had always been closely allied. The long wars against the Moors had been waged largely on account of religion, and therefore to force Christianity upon the natives of America by means of the sword was the most natural thing in the world for him to attempt. Again and again in the accounts of the Spanish conquest of America it will be necessary to remember the peculiar religious conditions in Spain in order to understand the occurrences and actions of the conquistadores.

All this had a far-reaching effect upon the economic life of Spain. The Spaniard was not a producer of wealth. He looked with contempt upon trade; he neglected his fields, while he entertained a low opinion of the industrial classes and of those who were the producers of wealth. In the sixteenth century Spain was a very poor country, for not only was agriculture neglected but industry of all sorts was at a low stage of development. The expulsion of the Jews and the Moors was a great blow to the economic life of the country. The Jews controlled certain lines of industry, and had been the bankers and moneylenders time out of mind. The Moors were even more important economically than were the Jews, for they were the tillers of the soil and the raisers of cattle and sheep. When these two classes were brought under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and many thousands of them were compelled to flee the country, Spain lost her most important economic classes. Never were economic laws more disregarded than in Spain. The industrial and economic condition seemed to be the last thing to be taken into account, while every interest had to give way to the demands of the holy Catholic faith. One can hardly help but admire this supreme contempt for worldly interests.

V. Economic Condition of Spain in 1500

In the year 1512 the Florentine historian Guicciardini was sent into Spain by his government to learn all that he could of that country. He remained in Spain for two years, and at the end of his investigation made a careful report of what he had

observed. Speaking of the population he says, "Spain is thinly populated, so that towns and burgs are rare, and between one great town and another scarcely a house will be found." Aside from the great centers, most of the towns were small and had rude buildings. The land was very fertile but poorly cultivated. Of the Spaniard he says: "The men of this nation are gloomy of temperament and swarthy of complexion. . . . they are proud by nature, and it seems to them as if no nation could be compared with theirs. . . . They have little love for foreigners, and are very uncivil toward them. They are devoted to arms, perhaps more than any other Christian nation. . . . In military matters they are great sticklers for honor." In regard to trade he observes: "The natives do not devote themselves to trade, which they look upon as degrading; the pride of the hidalgo goes to his head, and he would rather turn to arms with little chance of gain, or serve a grandee in wretchedness and poverty, or before the time of the present king, even assault wayfarers, than engage in trade or any other business. . . . The whole nation is opposed to industry. Accordingly, the artisans only work when they are driven to do so by necessity, and then they take their ease until they have spent their earnings; this is the reason why manual labor is so dear. The meanest cultivators of the soil have the same habit. . . . Aside from a few grandees of the kingdom who display great luxury, it must be remembered that the rest of the people live at home in utmost straits, and if they have a little to spend they put it all on their backs or in purchasing a mule, thus making a great show before the world when they have scarce anything at home, where they exercise an economy truly astonishing." Although they live on very little, yet they are by no means free from cupidity, and are in fact very avaricious; and not having anything in the way of the arts to rely upon, they are driven to robbing and plundering. The religion of the Spaniard, according to Guicciardini, is extremely superficial. Outwardly they seem very religious but inwardly have little. "They have infinite ceremonies, which they perform with great exactness, and show much humility in speech,

Spain in 1512, as Described by the Florentine Historian Guicciardini

the use of titles, and the kissing of hands. Everyone is their lord, everyone may command them; but this means little, and you can place no faith in them." Such was the Spaniard at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as seen by a contemporary.

When the Spaniard came to America he came with three chief motives: (1) He was hungry for adventure. The closing of the wars with the Moors had thrown many Spanish knights out of employment, but the opening of America was to them a door of hope, a new field for the exercise of arms, and the prospects of new conquests appealed to them as a golden opportunity. (2) He came with a sincere desire to spread the Catholic faith, and in the midst of all his various activities in America he never lost sight of his religious program; with hardly an exception, priests accompanied every expedition, and no opportunity was neglected of establishing Christian worship among the natives. (3) He came searching for wealth. Infinitely poor, and having no means of gaining wealth at home, the Spanish knight came to the New World for gold, and his desire was insatiable. These three motives explain practically every act of the Spaniard in America.

READING REFERENCES

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Four volumes from the Story of the Nations Series: *Spain*, by Edward E. Hale and Susan Hale; *The Moors in Spain*, by Stanley Lane-Poole; *The Christian Recovery of Spain*, by Henry Edward Watts; *The Story of Portugal*, by H. Morse Stephens (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901).

European Background of American History, by E. P. Cheyney (Harpers, 1904). Chapter V discusses the Spanish Monarchy at the time of Columbus.

A History of the Inquisition in Spain, by H. C. Lea (The Macmillan Company). Vol. I, Chapters I–IV, is the best account of the growth of intolerance in Spain. A more detailed history of Spain is Burk's *History of Spain*, edited by Martin A. S. Hume (Longmans, Green, 1900).

In the American Historical Association Reports for 1893, pp. 125–133, will be found an article on "Economic Conditions of Spain in the Sixteenth Century," by Bernard Moses.

Fortunately for the student of Latin American affairs, the two volumes of Professor R. B. Merriman on *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (The Macmillan Company, 1918) have appeared. Vol. I treats of Spain in the Middle Ages, while Vol. II discusses the reigns of the Catholic kings.

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL ASPECTS AND NATIVE RACES OF LATIN AMERICA

I. Physical Aspects

Latin America, including South America, Central America, and the Spanish West Indies, covers an area of more than 8,000,000 square miles. The approximate area of Mexico and the Central American states is 1,000,000 square miles, while the area of the Spanish West Indies is nearly 100,000 square miles, leaving for South America proper an area of over 7,000,000 square miles. The greatest breadth of South America is 3,500 miles, and its greatest length 4,600 miles, while the distance from the northern boundary of Mexico to the extreme southern boundary of Chile is nearly 7,000 miles. Latin America occupies more than half the area of the American continents, and the largest Latin American state, Brazil, is larger than the United States, without Alaska, and larger than all Europe without Russia. When we glance at the dimensions of the countries covering the continent and compare them with others with which we are more familiar, we will perhaps get a better idea of the size of the territory occupied by Latin America. The little new Republic of Panama is larger than two Switzerlands, Switzerland having an area of 15,976 square miles, while Panama has 33,000 square miles. Uruguay, the smallest of the republics in South America proper, has an area of 72,210 square miles, which is larger than England, and is over 3,000 square miles larger than the six New England States. The republics of Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru range from 364,000 to 695,733 square miles, the smallest of them being larger than France and Spain combined. Argentina, with an area of 1,135,840 square miles, is larger than the United States east of the Mississippi River. If we should lay Argentina upon the continent of North America, it would reach from the southern tip of Florida to northern Labrador.

Area of Latin America

From the standpoint of land relief South America proper may be divided into four divisions: (1) the great Andean Mountain chain, which is the most striking feature of the continent, with the narrow plain lying between it and the Pacific Ocean; (2) the great plateau of Brazil, with the two coastal mountain ranges, spreading westward and northward to the heart of the continent; (3) the highlands of Guiana and Venezuela between the Orinoco and the mouth of the Amazon; and (4) the lowlands that spread out along the three main lines of continental drainage, namely, the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Paraguay basins.

Everything in South America is on a grand scale. The mountains are the highest in the western hemisphere. From Cape Horn to the Isthmus of Panama, the great Cordillera follows the coast line closely. The coastal plain between the mountains and the sea has an average width of forty miles, and when the weather is favorable the mountains are visible to passengers on ocean steamers all the way from the Straits of Magellan to Panama. South of the forty-first degree south latitude, the coast is characterized by a vast number of islands, "probably produced by the recent submergence of a mountain system and the consequent invasion of its steep-sided valleys by the ocean." The islands along the coast are but the high portion of these mountains which remain above water. North of the forty-first degree the coast is but little indented, and there are few harbors. From about thirty degrees south to Guayaquil the coast is sandy, arid, and barren, and is one of the dryest portions of the earth. The streams which flow from the mountains are short, and many of the smaller ones do not reach the sea, but are lost in the sands of the desert. From Guayaquil to Panama the coast is covered with a tropical vegetation.

The Andean Range and the Coastal Plain

The Andean range is about 4,400 miles long. In the southern part there is but a single range; from northern Argentina through the central part there are two ranges, while in the north there are three. Upon the Cordilleran ridge rise some of the highest peaks in the world, though various authorities

differ in their estimates of their elevations. The highest of these peaks is Aconcagua, in Argentina, which rises to the great height of over 23,000 feet, 9,000 feet higher than the highest mountain in the United States. There are sixteen known peaks scattered along the range, in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia, ranging from over 15,000 feet to 23,000. Cotopaxi, Tunguragua, Maipo, and Sangai are the highest active volcanoes in the world. Many glaciers are found in the Andes, even under the equator itself, the largest glaciers being found in the southern part, their streams emptying into the Straits of Magellan.

Mountain Peaks

The eastern side of the continent is very different from the western side. The country from the Straits of Magellan to the southern part of Brazil is flat, and is called the La Plata pampas. It is much like the plains in the central part of the United States, with rich alluvial soil, and largely destitute of timber. In the north there are abundant grasses, suitable for pasturing cattle, but at the south vegetation is stunted, due to the dry climate. Between the valleys of the La Plata and the Amazon is a great plateau bordered by the range of mountains called the Serro do Mar. In many places these mountains come down to the coast, giving the shore line a most picturesque appearance, and here are to be found the best harbors in the continent. North of latitude twenty degrees the mountains swing inland, and the coast becomes low-lying to the seventeenth degree, north of which it is bordered by bluffs, ranging from fifty to two hundred and fifty feet high. North of the mouth of the Amazon the coast is low-lying and swampy and is covered with a dense tropical vegetation.

The Eastern Side of the Continent

The eastern side of the continent is also in great contrast to the western in the number and size of the rivers. South America has three great river systems, namely, the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the La Plata. These three great systems drain an area of 3,686,400 square miles. The Orinoco is the smallest of the largest rivers, but it is 1,450 miles in length, and with its tributaries has many miles of navigable waters. The main stream, during the most favorable season, is navigable for 1,000

miles. The La Plata includes the Parana, the Uruguay, and the Paraguay. The streams coming from the arid regions of the west are brackish, while those from the rainy, wooded region are all fresh streams. The La Plata discharges more water into the ocean than does the Mississippi, and is navigable for ocean-going vessels from 1,200 to 1,300 miles above Buenos Ayres, while smaller vessels can go over 2,000 miles into the interior. The Amazon, greatest of South American rivers, is the largest in the world. This river is navigable for 3,000 miles, while it is estimated that there are some 30,000 miles of navigable waterways in the Amazon valley. The Amazon is a sluggish stream, nowhere confined to a single channel, and spreads over a vast plain. The land along the stream is low and marshy, and at times under water.

Besides these three great river systems, there are several other streams of considerable size. The Magdalena in Colombia is a large river, over two thousand miles long, and is navigable for a considerable distance. It is a very muddy, crooked stream. The San Francisco lies wholly in Brazil, and flows northwestward to latitude nine degrees thirty minutes, when it bends sharply to the right and enters the Atlantic. It flows through a mountainous country and is only navigable for 150 miles in its lower course. There are no large rivers flowing into the Pacific, the Bio Bio in central Chile being the largest. Most of the lakes in South America are in the mountains, and are found in the Andes or near their base. Lake Titicaca, in northern Bolivia, is the largest, covering 5,000 square miles, and is 12,545 feet above sea level. It has a maximum depth of 700 feet and never freezes over. Lake Junin near Lima covers an area of 200 square miles, and is over 13,000 feet above sea level. In southern Argentina is a series of glacial lakes, and in Venezuela is Lake Maracaibo, but it is a bay rather than a lake.

Smaller South American Rivers and Lakes

Much of South America lies within the torrid zone, but because of high elevations temperate conditions prevail. In the western part of the continent a large part of the population live at elevations from 7,000 to 10,000 feet. Two thirds

of South America is within the torrid zone, and one third in the temperate, yet most of the South American capitals have a temperate climate. Quito lies under the equator, yet with an elevation of nearly two miles it has a delightful climate. Districts as large as some European states lie at such altitudes as to have a cool and healthful climate and produce grains and other temperate zone plants. None of the countries of South America are without large temperate zone districts.

Climate

South America has furnished an unusually large number of the world's useful plants. Among them are valuable dye woods, such as Brazil wood, rubber-producing plants, cotton, the potato, tomato, mandioca, pineapple, maize, ipecac, cocoa, the chocolate plant, and Paraguayan tea. The Amazon valley is covered with a dense growth of tropical plants. The palm in many varieties and shapes has its greatest development here. Tropical and subtropical plants have likewise been introduced into South America, such as the banana, sugar cane, orange tree, and coffee plant.

Flora

Most of the surface of Mexico is a great plateau bordered on both the east and west by mountains, with a fringe of low lands between the plateau and the coast on either side. To the extreme south there is a mountainous section, while most of the peninsula of Yucatan is a low, sandy plain. The great central plateau at its greatest elevation is 8,000 feet above sea level, while in the northern part the elevation averages about 3,500 feet. The mountain chain on the west is known as the Sierra Madre Occidental, which consists of several parallel ranges with their own names. The highest elevations in this range are the Nevado de Colima (14,363 feet) and the Volcan de Colima (12,750 feet). The eastern range is called the Sierra Madre Oriental. In the northern part this range is low, but south of Tampico it reaches a great elevation, culminating in such peaks as Orizaba (18,209 feet) and Cofre de Perote (13,419 feet). There are several ranges which cross the plateau, to some of which have been given the name of Cordillera de Anahuac. In the center of the plateau are several

The Geography of Mexico

snow-capped volcanoes, Popocatepetl (Smoking Mountain) and Ixtaccihuatl (White Woman), both of which are over 17,000 feet high. This part of Mexico is volcanic in character. In the center of the plateau, between the sixteenth and twentieth degrees, is a great depression, known as the valley of Mexico, which formerly contained a series of salt lakes, but now only small lakes and marshy lagoons remain. Mexico has no large rivers, most of the streams being little more than mountain torrents. The largest rivers are the Rio Grande Santiago, which rises in the state of Mexico and flows westward into the Pacific; the Rio de las Balsas, which rises in Tlaxcala and flows southwest into the Pacific; and the Yaqui, which rises in the state of Chihuahua and flows westward into the Gulf of California. The longest of these rivers is only 540 miles in length, and none of them are important as navigable streams.

Like South America, Mexico has a great variety of climate, due to varying elevations. The climate of Mexico is determined by vertical zones. The low-lying coast, called the tierra calientes, ranging in width from 30 to 40 miles, has a tropical temperature. The next zone is the tierra templada, or sub-tropical zone, which rises to an elevation of 5,577 feet and embraces a territory from 50 to 100 miles broad on both sides of the country. Above this is the tierra fria, which includes the highest portions of the plateau, and has a temperature corresponding to the temperature of the United States.

Climate of Mexico

The chief physical features of Central America are the mountain chains which traverse the country from end to end. The mountains are nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic, except in Costa Rica and Panama, where they are almost equidistant from the two oceans. The mountains are volcanic and there are many active craters. The country is mostly covered with a dense tropical growth, and for that reason much of it is still imperfectly surveyed. The rivers, especially on the Pacific side, are little more than mountain torrents, though on the Atlantic side the Segovia, in Nicaragua and Honduras, has a course 450 miles in length. There are several mountain lakes, Lake

Physical Features of Central America

Nicaragua, the largest, having an area of 3,500 square miles. Like Mexico, the climate of Central America depends upon the elevation. British Honduras and Guatemala have a hot climate, while Salvador and Costa Rica, due to high elevations, have a temperate climate. The rainfall is heavy, ranging from 50 to 200 inches.

The West India islands are the summits of submerged mountain chains, and both Cuba and Haiti are rugged and mountainous. Cuba has mountains from one end to the other, though not continuous. The eastern portion of the island is high and rugged, to the west of which are open plains, which in turn give way to another rough and broken region; the region about Habana is flat and rolling, while the extreme western end of the island is again mountainous. Cuba has a great number of short streams, the Caute in the east part of the island being the longest. One of the peculiarities of Cuba is the great number of caves and caverns, the island being largely underlaid with limestone. The climate is tropical, with heavy rainfall, though droughts of long duration are not uncommon. Haiti is far more rugged than Cuba, mountains covering the whole island, reaching almost everywhere to the coast, there being only here and there a few strips of beach. There is a central range running from east to west, while to the north and south are other ranges. Haiti has four fair-sized rivers and several mountain lakes. Owing to the more general elevation Haiti has a greater variety of climate than the other islands of the group. There is an abundant rainfall.

Cuba and Haiti

II. Native Races

The native races, which the Spaniards and the Portuguese found in South and Central America, and in the West Indies, may be roughly divided into two classes: (1) the naked savages, who were found on the islands and east of the Andes in South America; (2) the semicivilized Indians, inhabiting the territory west of the Andes in South America, such as the Peruvians, in the highlands of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and the Mayas of Yucatan, and the Aztecs in Mexico.

Native Races in Latin America

The savages whom Columbus and his successors found upon the islands of Haiti and Cuba were a mild race, described by the Spaniards as feeble in intellect and also physically defective. The number of Indians on the islands at the coming of the Spaniards has been doubtless greatly exaggerated, though there must have been a considerable population. These people lived in rude huts, and practiced a limited and extremely primitive agriculture. The island Indians were soon exterminated by the Spaniards and there is hardly a trace of them remaining. Little has been done in the way of archæological study, and nothing of the language or traditions of the aborigines has survived.

The Native Population on the Islands Haiti and Cuba

The chief tribes inhabiting South America east of the Andes were the Caribs in the north, in what is now Venezuela; the Arawaks, occupying the Guianas; the Tupi Indians, found in Brazil along the Amazon valley; and the Pampas Indians, in Argentina. The Caribs were a fierce, warlike race, and stoutly resisted the Spaniards. They were cannibals, and for that reason were terrifying to the earliest explorers, along the northern coast of South America. The Caribs were also found in some of the smaller islands of the West India group. The Arawaks were much milder than the Caribs. They were peaceful agriculturists, and were the most civilized of all the races found in northeastern South America, being weavers of cloth and workers in metals. The most important of the Amazon tribes were the Tupi. These tribes covered the territory from the Amazon to the southern part of what is now Brazil, and made up perhaps the most numerous race. The Pampas Indians were those tribes inhabiting the great plains of Argentina. These Indians were divided into many different tribes, though they possessed common characteristics. They were warlike, and the hostility of the tribes living at the mouth of the Rio de La Plata was one of the chief reasons why the Spaniards were unsuccessful in their first three attempts to establish Buenos Ayres.

The Native Races in Eastern South America

The Araucanians composed a group of tribes living in south-

ern Chile. They were an extremely warlike and brave people, and their long wars with the Spaniards, in which they were never completely conquered, have given them a distinction beyond that of any other group of natives. Their form of government was a military aristocracy. They followed agriculture, built houses, though as a whole they remained cruel savages. North of the Araucanians lived the Indians of Peru and Bolivia, to whom the term "Incas" is generally applied, though the two chief tribes were the Quichuas of Peru, and the Aymaras of Bolivia. In Ecuador were the Caras, while in Colombia lived the Chibchas. All of these people had reached a high state of civilization, though it is generally conceded that the Incas of Peru had developed to the highest degree.

The Indians of Chile and Peru

The capital of the Inca kingdom was at Cuzco, north of Lake Titicaca, Lake Titicaca being the primitive center of the civilization of this region. The Incas developed a strong government of a paternal character, and a highly intensive agriculture, building terraces up the mountain sides, and using fertilizers and irrigation. They were the only people in America to domesticate a beast of burden, the llama, which they employed not only as a beast of burden but also for food. They raised potatoes, maize, and cotton; they obtained fine wool from the alpaca, which they wove into cloth and blankets. They were also skillful workers in metals, which they used for ornaments and utensils, but not for a medium of exchange. They erected huge buildings, putting the stones together without mortar, cutting them to fit so accurately that even yet, in the finest examples of their stone work, a knife blade cannot be inserted in the crevices. These remarkable people also constructed roads, the remains of which are still visible. At the time the Spaniards came to America the Inca kingdom extended from the northern boundary of the present Republic of Ecuador to the center of Chile, a distance of nearly three thousand miles. This was by far the largest single kingdom developed among the native races in America.

The Civilization of the Incas

Inhabiting what is now Colombia were the Chibchas, a peo-

ple almost as far along in civilization as the natives of Peru. They were skillful weavers of cloth and were adept as potters. They lived in houses and erected great temples. They too had carried agriculture to a high degree of success and lived under an absolute government which severely punished crime. The Chibchas are credited with a system of weights and measures and a currency in the form of gold disks. Like the Aymaras and the Quichuas, they were skilled workers in the precious metals, which they wrought into ornaments for personal adornment and for use in their temples.

The Chibchas of Colombia

The chief inhabitants of Central America and Mexico, at the coming of the Spaniards, were the Aztecs of Mexico and the Mayas of Central America and Yucatan. There has been discovered in Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras the ruins of several ancient cities, which are said to be of greater extent and superior in every way to any of the ruins to be found in Mexico. At the time the Spaniards came most of these cities were abandoned, but they give undoubted evidence that there once existed in Central America a highly developed empire. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards the tribes in Yucatan were found to be hostile and skilled warriors, and gave the discoverers much trouble. They wore clothing made of cotton and, like the Aztecs, had developed a form of picture-writing. Mr. Bancroft thinks that the Maya civilization was much older than that of Mexico, and that Central America was the most ancient home of civilization in America.

The Indians of Central America

The most remarkable civilization with which the Spaniards came in contact was that of the confederated tribes in Mexico, under their emperor Montezuma. The valley of Mexico was the seat, however, of a much more ancient civilization than that which the Spaniards found. It is supposed that in the sixth century a tribe, known as the Toltecs, built up a civilization in the valley. In the eleventh century the Toltecs were driven out by a ruder people, who occupied the territory for a time, but were finally conquered by the tribe we know as the

The Aztecs of Mexico

Aztecs. When the Spaniards came into Mexico the Aztecs had been in control of the valley for about two hundred years. The Aztecs were skilled agriculturists, cultivating a great variety of crops; they lived in well-built cities, some of which impressed the Spaniards as more beautiful than many in Spain. The capital of the empire was the City of Mexico, located in the largest of the salt lakes, in the valley, and was a most wonderful city from the standpoint of both size and beauty, if we can trust the reports of the Spanish conquerors. There were a well-ordered government, a judicial system, almost modern in its organization, and written laws. The religion of the Aztecs, however, was very repulsive to the Spaniards, because of the prevalence of human sacrifice, though in other respects it compared favorably with some of the higher forms of religion.

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CHAPTER III

PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH EXPLORATION IN AMERICA

Back of the discovery of America lies a long period in which the people of western Europe were gradually becoming better acquainted with the world immediately about them, and during which travelers and explorers were busy acquiring skill and experience for larger and more important discoveries. The first government to undertake exploration was that of the little country of Portugal. Portugal from the thirteenth century had been interested in trade and commerce. For many years her ports had had direct commercial relations with Flanders, and by the middle of the fourteenth century fleets from Venice made regular voyages to Lisbon. Thus Portugal became interested in the products of the east, and when in 1263 she succeeded in conquering the little Moorish kingdom of Algarves, situated in what is now the southern part of Portugal, she was given a southern as well as a western seacoast, which was an added incentive for increasing her Mediterranean trade. The chief reason, however, why Portugal led Europe in discovery and exploration was because of the enthusiasm and devotion of one man, who has become known to history as Prince Henry the Navigator.

Portugal the First European State to Become Interested in Discovery

Prince Henry was the fourth son of King John II of Portugal. As a young man he had taken part in an expedition against the Moors in Africa, and from this experience his interest in the continent to the south of Portugal began. In the year 1419 he established his residence on the rock of Sarges, the extreme southwestern extension of Europe, and there for a period of forty years he devoted his energy to the task of finding a way around Africa. He had no family, and the income from his estates was lavished on this project to which he had dedicated

his life. Upon this barren rock he built an observatory, the first his country had seen, and here he gathered about him seamen and adventurers, and a school of navigation and mapmaking was established. From 1420 to the year of his death in 1460 this Portuguese prince sent out voyage after voyage to the southward. During the first ten years of his endeavor the Madeiras and the Azores were rediscovered, and their permanent colonization begun. It took twenty-five years for the sailors of the prince to get as far south as Cape Verde, which was finally reached in 1445 by Fernandez Diaz. In successive years other voyages reached farther and farther southward, but the prince died before he had accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa. Fortunately, his work did not cease with his death, for the adventurous navigators he had trained continued their voyaging, supported by the Portuguese king. Finally, in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Capes of Africa, and ten years later Vasco da Gama, the greatest of all the Portuguese navigators, sailed around Africa to India, and returned with a cargo of spices, which we are told brought sixty times over the cost of the expedition. In the meantime a brisk trade was springing up on the west coast of Africa and Portuguese missionaries were being sent to the Congo.

The Work of Prince Henry the Navigator

Thus for considerably over a half century Portugal was active in discovery and navigation before Spain entered the field. It was, in fact, these voyages of the Portuguese navigators that led Columbus to think of sailing westward to find a new route to the Indies. "It was in Portugal that the Admiral began to surmise that if men could sail so far south, one might also sail west and find lands in that direction," said Ferdinand Columbus, who was the first biographer of his father. In 1470 Columbus, a native of Genoa, was attracted to Lisbon, then the great center of maritime adventure. Before this, however, Columbus had been interested in discovery, having been connected with ships and affairs of the sea since his early boyhood. It is quite certain that he had made several voyages of discovery previous to the great voyage. He had visited the Madeira and

Influence of Portugal on Columbus

Canary Islands, and had gone on a voyage around the African coast. He had also been an eager student of books of travel, which were beginning to become quite numerous, and his copy of Marco Polo's travels may still be seen, giving proof of his interest by its marginal jottings and thumb marks. Columbus appealed to the Portuguese king for help in an undertaking to find the way to the Indies by sailing westward, but the Portuguese were so engrossed in their interest in finding the way around Africa that Columbus was not able to gain the assistance he sought. He was received kindly by the Portuguese king, however, and a council of scientific men was called to consider the plan, though they pronounced it visionary. But in spite of this, the Portuguese sought to anticipate Columbus, and we are told that a ship was sent westward, which received the instruction to follow the plan outlined by Columbus. The sailors, however, not having their hearts in the matter, failed to sail far enough westward.

Columbus next tried to interest the Genoese government in his plan, but without success. It was after these rebuffs that he set out for Spain, arriving there in 1485. Ferdinand and Isabella were then engaged in the conquest of Granada, and were with their army at Cordoba. Here Columbus presented himself to the Queen's chaplain, to whom a kindly abbot had given him letters of introduction, but the cleric received him coldly and refused to present him to the queen. And it is little to be wondered at that Columbus was refused an audience with the monarchs of Spain, for he was only a humble sailor, picking up a living as he went from place to place drawing maps and charts. The greatest wonder is that he ever succeeded in presenting his plan. In the fall of 1485, however, he secured an audience with Ferdinand, who was so impressed that he called a council of scholars to consider it. After looking into the scheme, these so-called scholars declared the views of Columbus "unphilosophical and, worst of all, unscriptural," and, further, that "it was false and heretical to assume that land could be found by sailing west from Europe"; moreover, they wisely stated "that Columbus after he had descended the hemisphere would

Columbus Gets a Hearing in Spain

not be able to ascend again, for it would be like getting up a mountain." While this decision discouraged Columbus, he did not give up hope. The fact that his plan had been discussed by a council of scholars served to give it considerable publicity, and, staying close to the court, he accompanied the Spanish army to the siege of Malaga in 1487. The next year Columbus dispatched his brother Bartholomew to lay his plan before King Henry VII of England, but unfortunately, he fell among pirates in the channel. Although Henry VII was favorable to the plan, Bartholomew was not able to bring this good news to his brother until Columbus had started upon his famous voyage.

In 1489 Columbus had become completely discouraged and determined to try his fortune in France. Stopping to visit his little son Diego, at a monastery near Palos, the prior, who had formerly been queen's chaplain, learning of his intention to quit Spain for France, wrote to the queen urging her to accept the scheme of the navigator. So impressed was Isabella by the letter of her former chaplain that she at once summoned Columbus to the court, and he was at last taken under the royal protection. Columbus arrived in Granada just in time to see the last of the Moorish banners torn from the Alhambra and the united flag of Ferdinand and Isabella unfurled, and it was amid such strange surroundings as these that he first presented himself to the good queen. He asked for ships and sailors, that he be made admiral of all new discoveries, and that he be given "a tenth of all spices, precious stones, precious metals found or bought or sold within the bounds of his discoveries." These demands the queen thought absurd, as they undoubtedly were, and once more Columbus was sent away. By this time, however, influential members of the court had been won over to his side, and on their intervention he was again summoned before the queen. At last she promised to grant him all things necessary for his voyage, even if it were necessary for her to give her jewels in pledge.

Queen Isabella Promises to Send Columbus on His Voyage

The agreement between the monarchs and Columbus was signed April 17, 1492, and immediately he began preparation at the port of Palos for his famous voyage. The three vessels

which Palos annually furnished to the crown were placed at the disposal of the admiral, and funds were advanced from the ecclesiastical revenues of the crown of Aragon. The Pinzon brothers, rich and skillful mariners of Palos, joined Columbus in his undertaking. Three vessels, the Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Nina, were made ready, and ninety sailors were secured by proclamation offering immunity from civil and criminal process. The voyage started at sunrise, August 3, 1492, but before starting the crews gathered at the church and partook of the sacrament. Finally all was ready, and the course was directed toward the Canary Islands, which were reached in seven days. Here they were detained three weeks by a broken rudder on the Pinta. Again they set sail, and farther and farther they penetrated into the unknown sea, while the crews became more and more alarmed and mutiny was never very far away. Now and again by the end of September they began to see flocks of land birds, then some sea weeds floating, and finally a branch of a tree with leaves and berries fresh upon it. Then the morning of the twelfth of October dawned, and behold before them lay a shore, and as they drew nearer crowds of friendly natives were seen. Soon a landing was accomplished, and the pious Columbus took possession of the new-found land in the name of the Catholic monarchs of Spain. Our knowledge of this first voyage is based upon the extracts of the journal of Columbus, which were copied by the first historian of the Indies, Las Casas, but the journal itself is lost. On his return Columbus wrote two letters to friends describing the voyage, and these letters furnish another important source.

Preparations for the Voyage, and the Voyage

The island which Columbus first sighted was named San Salvador, Holy Saviour, and was in the Bahama group, though its identity has been lost. The admiral was much disappointed in not finding gold among the natives, for when he exhibited samples of gold and pearls the simple natives only shook their heads. He left San Salvador on October 14, and sailed southward, passing several small islands, and finally reached the north shore of Cuba. As they coasted along the shore of Cuba, Columbus came to the conclusion that they had found

the mainland of Asia. For two days he skirted the island in a southeasterly direction, and came finally to the island of Haiti, which Columbus thought was Japan. On Christmas day the largest vessel, the Santa Maria, was wrecked, though the crew was safely transferred to the Nina. The Pinta had previously deserted the admiral, and Columbus feared that her captain, one of the Pinzons, had returned to Spain to reap the benefit of the discovery. Before starting on the return voyage Columbus determined to leave some of the men on the island, for the Nina was now much overcrowded. Accordingly, houses and a fortress were erected, the natives aiding in the work, and thirty-nine men were selected to form this temporary colony, which received the name of La Navidad, in honor of the escape from the wreck, on Christmas day.

Columbus Founds La Navidad

On January 4, 1493, the return voyage was begun, and two days later Columbus overtook the Pinta. After a stormy passage, during which the vessels were twice in danger of shipwreck, the Azores were at last sighted on February 15. Here they received a very ungracious reception from the Portuguese governor. Leaving the Azores, they ran into another storm, in which the vessels were again separated, and finally the Nina was compelled to take refuge in the river Tagus. Here Columbus came once more in contact with the Portuguese, but this time he was well received, invited to the court, and made much of. A few days later the little Nina sailed into the harbor of Palos; the people at once recognized the vessel, and immediately all trade was stopped, bells were rung, and when night came the streets were brilliantly illuminated in honor of the great admiral.

The Return of Columbus

As soon as the monarchs learned of the return of Columbus they summoned him to the court at Barcelona, where he was given great honor, being directed to seat himself in their presence, an honor usually bestowed only upon royalty. When the monarchs had received Columbus they immediately sent messengers to the pope, Alexander VI, who was himself a Spaniard, a native of Valencia in Aragon, and requested that

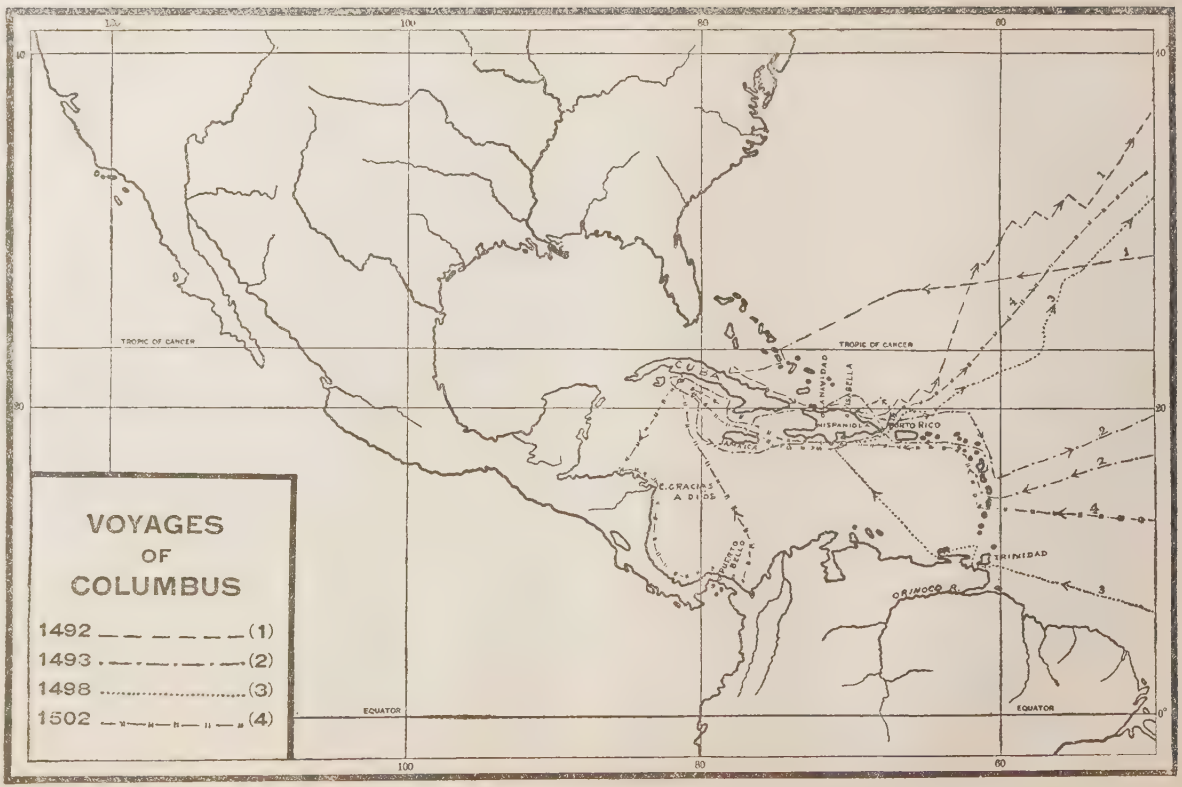
he grant them the Indies, just discovered. Accordingly, on May 3, 1493, the pope issued a bull conferring upon the Spanish sovereigns all lands discovered and hereafter to be discovered in the western ocean. In this famous document the pope states that he has done this "Out of our pure liberality, certain knowledge, and plenitude of apostolic power," and "by virtue of the authority of omnipotent God granted to us in Saint Peter and of the Vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we administer upon the earth." On the following day another bull was issued fixing a line of demarcation dividing the Spanish and Portuguese possessions. This line was drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The first demarcation line, however, did not satisfy Portugal, and in the year 1494 a treaty was signed between Spain and Portugal moving the line to three hundred and seven leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. The changing of the original line had far-reaching influence, for the new line touched the coast of South America, and Portugal was thus given a claim on Brazil.

The Papal Bull of Demarcation

Immediately there was organized a special department of Indian Affairs, with headquarters at Saville, and the Archbishop of Saville was placed in charge. A special Indian customhouse was built at Cadiz; the famous system of colonial control thus begun was to continue for more than three hundred years. Provision for missionary work among the Indians was likewise inaugurated, Columbus having brought back from the Indies six Indians, who were soon baptized, the king and queen standing as godfather and godmother for them. These Indians were to be taught the Spanish tongue and were to serve as interpreters for the priests. A certain Bernardo Boyle was made the pope's vicar, for the carrying on of this work.

Department of Indian Affairs Established

The second voyage of Columbus was primarily a colonizing expedition. In the summer of 1493 fourteen ships for passengers and three for stores were prepared. When the expedition sailed on September 23, there were some fifteen hundred persons on board, among them many hidalgos, and such stores as cattle, vines, horses and other things considered necessary to the


VOYAGES
OF
COLUMBUS
1492 (1)
1493 (2)
1498 (3)
1502 (4)
TROPIC OF CANCER
TROPIC OF CANCER
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JAMAICA
TRINIDAD
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PUERTO BELLO
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founding of a colony. This voyage went also by way of the Canaries, and thence by a straight course to the West Indies, finally sighting the island of Dominica in the Lesser Antilles, on November 3. Sailing through the smaller islands of this group, Columbus found and named several, among them being Guadeloupe and Antigua, and arrived on the north shore of Hispaniola on November 27. On reaching the site of La Navidad, no trace of the thirty-nine men who had made up the colony could be found, though they found chests broken open, and finally nine corpses buried near the fortress. Later Columbus learned that the Spaniards had quarreled among themselves and had mistreated the Indians. Eventually a fierce Indian chief had attacked them and wiped them out of existence, a fate, no doubt, which they richly deserved.

The Second Voyage of Columbus, and the First Spanish Colony

Columbus now proceeded to choose another site for a colony, and fixed upon a place some thirty miles east of La Navidad; there he built a town, naming it Isabella, in honor of his royal patroness, the good Spanish queen. When this had been completed, Columbus left his brother Diego in charge of the colony while he went on an exploring voyage among the islands of the Greater Antilles. In this voyage he sailed westward along the northern shore of Hispaniola until the east end of the island of Cuba was reached. Then, striking the south shore of Cuba, he circumnavigated the Isle of Pines, and then returned by way of the island of Jamaica and the south shore of Hispaniola. On his return Columbus set about to rule the colony. During his absence things had gone badly. The proud hidalgos were unwilling to be governed by these foreigners from Genoa. Soon the other brother, Bartholomew, who some five years previously had gone on the errand to England, arrived in Isabella with several ships loaded with supplies for the colony. He was at once made adelantado, or military governor. Fonseca, the head of the new department of Indian affairs in Spain, had become hostile to Columbus and welcomed every tale which came to his ears that was to the admiral's discredit. Indian wars broke out, greatly adding to the difficulties. The crisis came when the two priests headed

Founding of Isabella

a company of discontented colonists, seized the ships in which Bartholomew had come, and departed for Spain. Finally feeling that it was necessary to return to Spain, to present his own side of the colonial situation to the sovereigns, Columbus set sail from Hispaniola in the spring of 1496, arriving in Cadiz in June.

When the admiral reached Spain he was kindly received by the Catholic monarchs and no mention was made of the complaints that had been made against him. In May, 1498, a third expedition set sail under the command of Columbus. He sailed from the little port of San Lucar de Barrameda on May 30, with six vessels. Three of the ships went immediately to the colony, while Columbus with the other three sailed southward to the Cape Verde Islands, then straight westward until the island of Trinidad, off the mouth of the Orinoco, was sighted. This island the pious Columbus named Trinidad because of the three mountain peaks of the island. In the voyage the admiral was searching for the Straits of Malacca, for he still thought he had found Asia in Cuba, and he desired to find the way through to the Spice Islands.

The Third Voyage of Columbus

He coasted along the north shore of South America, sailed into the mouth of the great river Orinoco, found some fine pearls, and then, Columbus being overtaken by a strange stupor, the expedition sailed straight for the colony. Here everything was in a most deplorable condition. An insurrection among the colonists had been started, which was followed by an Indian uprising, and Bartholomew, the governor, instead of punishing the rebels, had made terms with them. At this juncture the admiral made his greatest mistake in sending to Spain a cargo of six hundred Indian slaves. This greatly angered the queen, who looked upon the Indians as the special wards of the crown. When the slaves reached Spain they were at once sent back to the Indies.

This slave venture of Columbus probably decided the sovereigns to investigate affairs in the colony. Accordingly, a special agent, in the person of a certain Bobadilla, was sent out from Spain with instructions to punish offenders and

receive from Columbus and his brothers all fortresses and other property belonging to the government. This was not to be done, however, unless in case of extreme necessity. But no sooner had Bobadilla arrived in the colony than he caused the arrest of Columbus and his brothers without making the slightest investigation. The accusations against Columbus were that he had made sick men work; had starved them; had whipped these starving men for petty stealing; and, finally, had treated the Indians cruelly, expressly against the queen's command. Heavy chains were placed upon Columbus—treatment which cut his sensitive nature to the quick. With this cruel and disgraceful treatment the administration of Columbus in this first Spanish colony came to a sad end. Everything considered, the sovereigns were not far wrong in removing Columbus, though, as Fiske suggests, it might have been done in a less brutal way. Columbus was a dreamer rather than an administrator, and his reputation would perhaps have been even greater if he had never attempted the government of this first colony.

Arrest of Columbus and His Return to Spain in Chains

On the arrival of the great explorer in Spain, orders were at once issued that he should be released from his chains, and he was promised reimbursement for all his losses, a promise, however, which was never fulfilled. The sovereigns also were magnanimous enough not to take any notice of the accusations which were brought against him. Since the last voyage of Columbus, Da Gama had made his great voyage around Africa, and had returned with his rich cargo. This inspired the Spanish sovereigns to send Columbus upon his fourth and last voyage, in an attempt to find a way to the rich Spice Islands. This last expedition consisted of four small vessels, and set sail from Cadiz on May 11, 1502. The admiral had orders not to land at the colony in Hispaniola, but a disabled ship led him to disobey the command and he attempted a landing at Isabella. He was ordered to leave at once, which he accordingly did in the teeth of a storm, though his ships found safety near by. In this voyage Columbus explored the west coast of Central America, naming Cape Gracias á Dios, was told by the natives of a

The Fourth Voyage of Columbus, 1502-1504

"narrow place," which he interpreted as meaning a strait, and followed the coast to about the eastern end of the Panama Canal. Here he decided to found a colony, but after remaining three months they were driven to sea by famine and misery. One hardship followed another in rapid succession. The ships were wrecked upon the shore of the island of Jamaica, and here Columbus and his men were compelled to remain for a year, enduring in the meantime terrible suffering from hunger and disease. Finally, after long delay, they were rescued by an expedition sent out by Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, and Columbus reached Spain in November, 1504. The days of his glory were passed, and honor no longer awaited his return to Spain, for the good queen was upon her deathbed, and it was not long until the disappointed and heart-broken admiral followed her to the grave. Columbus died without knowing that he had discovered a new world.

As the news of the discoveries of Columbus and Da Gama and the other early navigators became more widely known, other Portuguese and Spaniards began to plan voyages of discovery. Between 1500 and 1520 no less than twenty expeditions sailed out of Spanish and Portuguese ports, or from the ports of the islands. In 1500 an expedition under the command of Ojeda and La Cosa with Amerigo Vespucci, sailed to the north coasts of South America, following more or less the same course pursued by Columbus in his third voyage. In the same year Vincente Pinzon also made a voyage to the northeast coast of Brazil. Lepe, another Spanish navigator, went as far as ten degrees south latitude along the Brazilian coasts. Cabral, a Portuguese, in attempting to sail around Africa, was driven by a storm upon the coast of Brazil, and sailing along the coast to the sixteenth degree south latitude, took possession of the country in the name of his king. Two Spanish navigators, Bastidas and La Cosa, from October, 1500, to September, 1502, sailed along the northern coast of South America and the Isthmus of Panama. In the same year a Portuguese, Nuno Manuel, explored the Brazilian coast to the thirty-fourth degree south latitude, and discovered the island of Georgia. Two other

Voyages of Discovery Between 1500 and 1520

Portuguese ships sailed to the Brazilian coast between 1503 and 1504, while two Spanish voyages were made between 1507 and 1509, to the same region. In 1508 Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba, thus disproving the belief held by Columbus that it was a part of Asia. In 1513 Ponce de Leon explored the coasts of Florida, while in the same year Balboa crossed the isthmus and discovered the Pacific. After the discovery of the Pacific, navigators realized that there was another western ocean to cross before the Spice Islands could be reached, and it gradually dawned upon them that it was a new world which had been found.

Between 1517 and 1519 several exploring voyages were sent out along the Mexican coast, from the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. The Yucatan penninsula was circumnavigated and the general nature of the coast of Central America was learned. In 1519 the great Portuguese navigator, Magellan, sailing under the flag of Spain, started on his voyage to circumnavigate the earth. In the fall of 1820 he sailed through the Straits which bear his name. When he reached the Philippines, of which he took possession in the name of Spain, he was killed in a fight with the natives. One of his ships, however, finally sailed into the harbor from which it had started nearly three years previously. This voyage of Magellan revealed the fact that the earth was much larger than had been supposed, and from henceforth the Spanish navigators more and more turned their attention to America, giving up the search for a way through to the East Indies.

Magellan Circumnavigates the Globe

So far the Spanish voyages had not been profitable from the standpoint of financial return. In striking contrast were the voyages of the Portuguese, which were extremely profitable from the first. From the return of Da Gama from his great voyage with a rich cargo of spices there began for Portugal a period of great prosperity, the greatest in Portuguese history. Immediately large Portuguese fleets began to go to the East Indies, returning with rich cargoes, and Lisbon soon became one of the busiest ports in the world. It was not, however, until the gold

Portuguese and Spanish Voyages Contrasted

and silver mines of Mexico and Peru came into Spanish possession that Spain received any great financial returns from her discoveries.

Among the navigators who went on voyages of discovery during these years was an Italian merchant, Amerigo Vespucci. He had been sent out to Seville in 1492 by the great Florentine mercantile house of the De Medici as their representative. He soon became greatly interested in the discoveries that were being made by the Spanish and Portuguese navigators. In 1499 this Italian agent accompanied an expedition to the north coast of South America. It is also known that he went on three other voyages, but in every case he was not the chief personage, and was never more than of secondary importance. The way in which the name of this merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, became prominent was as follows: When he returned from these voyages he wrote accounts of them in Latin, and in these writings he made himself seem the chief personage. These accounts were not only read in Spain but throughout Europe. In this way his name came to be more intimately connected with the new discoveries than even that of Columbus. Vespucci also had called the land discovered "Novus Mundus" ("New World"), while Columbus had simply spoken of it as the Indies. Finally, in 1507, three years after the death of Columbus, Waldseemüller, a professor in the college of St. Die, published a geography, and on the map of the new land he placed the name "America." Other map-makers followed his example, and thus the name became permanently attached to the new continents. This was an honor which Amerigo Vespucci certainly did not deserve, but, strange to say, there were few protests. Even Ferdinand Columbus when he wrote the life of his father in 1539 seemed to be unaware that the real discoverer had been eclipsed.

How America Was Named

The net result of Spanish and Portuguese voyaging in the western ocean between the years 1492 and 1520 was as follows: All the larger islands of the West Indies had been discovered, their coast lines mapped, and colonies had been planted upon them; the eastern coast line of South America down as far as the Rio de La Plata was fairly well known both to the

Spanish and Portuguese; the north coast of South America and the coasts bordering on the Gulf of Mexico had been explored, and a colony founded on the Isthmus. The Spanish and Portuguese navigators had proved themselves to be both hardy and resourceful, and we are now to see what kind of colonizers they were, as we trace the planting of their colonies upon these new found coasts.

Results of the First Decade of Spanish and Portuguese Voyaging

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CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIZATION OF THE ISLANDS AND THE ISTHMUS

Plan for the Discussion of Colonization

The colonization of Latin America may be considered under four divisions: (1) The Colonization of the Islands and the Isthmus; (2) The Conquests of Mexico, Peru, and Chile; (3) The Founding of the Agricultural Colonies of Spain: Venezuela, Colombia, and La Plata; and (4) The Portuguese Colonization of Brazil. We plan to take up these phases in order, devoting a chapter to each. The first phase of Latin colonization in the New World was the founding of colonies upon the larger islands of the West Indies. From the West Indies attempts to found colonies upon the mainland of Central and South America followed. After this came the conquests of Mexico, Peru, and Chile; the Mexican conquest proceeded from Cuba; the Peruvian conquest from the colony on the mainland, while the conquerors of Chile set out from Peru. The third phase of colonization was the planting of colonies in the nonmineral-producing sections of South America. Spain cared little about these nonmineral-producing colonies and she neglected them throughout the colonial period. The fourth phase of Latin-American colonization was the planting of Portuguese settlements in Brazil, which must be discussed in a separate chapter.

Colonization of the Islands

Spanish colonization properly begins in January, 1493, with the founding of La Navidad, on the north shore of Hispaniola, when Columbus left thirty-nine sailors from the wrecked Santa Maria. We have already noticed what fate befell this little colony. The second voyage of Columbus was the first real colonization expedition to sail out of Spain. Fifteen hundred people were shipped and all things thought necessary for the planting of a full-fledged colony. The site selected for this

enterprise was on the north shore of Hispaniola, some thirty miles east of La Navidad, and was named Isabella in honor of the queen. According to the agreement between Columbus and his sovereigns, he was to be the governor of the colony. Columbus, however, was not a successful ruler. His two brothers, Diego and Bartholomew, came out to the colony, and both received positions of influence, much to the disgust of the haughty Spanish hidalgos, who looked with ill-disguised dislike upon the advancement of these Italian adventurers. The two priests Margarite and Boyle led a discontented group back to Spain, and rumors of the disorganized condition of the colony kept finding their way back to the ears of the wily head of the new Council of the Indies. The net outcome of the administration of Columbus was a sad failure. In 1500 Bobadilla was sent out by the sovereigns to relieve Columbus of his duties, and for a year and a half he governed the colony.

The Founding of Isabella

Administration of Columbus

The real successor, however, of Columbus as governor of Hispaniola was Nicholas de Ovando, who came out to the colony in September, 1501. He remained in charge until 1506. Ovando was a distinguished knight of the order of Alcantara and was highly thought of in Spain. His administration, however, is chiefly distinguished by the extreme cruelty with which he treated the Indians. The system known as the encomienda, by which land and Indians were partitioned out among the Spaniards, got well started under this administration. As we have seen, Columbus had desired to enslave the Indians, but so long as Queen Isabella lived these attempts had failed. No sooner, however, was the good queen dead than the enslavement of the Indians went on at an amazing rate. It was not long until Hispaniola and the surrounding islands were denuded of their native populations.

The Government Under Ovando

Ovando's successor was Diego Columbus, the youngest son of the great admiral. He had married the niece of King Ferdinand, Maria de Toledo, and had succeeded in having restored to him the rights and dignities of his famous father.

He and his royal wife came out to Hispaniola in 1509. There is little evidence that things improved much under Diego, for we are told that among the first acts of his administration was the giving of new Repartimientos to himself and wife and to other royal favorites. It was during his administration that a ship bearing the first Dominican friars arrived in the island, and with their coming agitation was begun which finally resulted in the attempt to protect the Indians by the importation of African Negroes. This new policy had far-reaching influence, not only upon the West Indian colonies of Spain, but upon the English colonies of North America.

Diego Columbus, Governor of Hispaniola

In the meantime the island of Porto Rico, which had been sighted by Columbus in his second voyage, had been colonized. In 1508 Governor Ovando had sent Ponce de Leon to explore the island, and in the next year he was made the governor, and a settlement was established near the present site of San Juan, which received the name Caparra. Ponce de Leon was removed from the governorship by Diego Columbus, and Juan Ceron was appointed. Under this governor a series of settlements were made in the north of the island, and the same system of ruthless enslavement of the Indians was pursued as in Hispaniola. In 1520 there was an attempt to save the Indians by the Dominicans, but their influence was not sufficient to deliver them from the savage and rapacious Spaniard. By the end of the sixteenth century the race of natives had disappeared from the island. Negro slavery was introduced in 1530. The town San Juan was founded in 1520, the first settlement being abandoned at the same time because of its unhealthy situation. Porto Rico was never prosperous, due largely to the character of the settlers.

The Settlement of Porto Rico

No attempt was made to plant a colony on Cuba during the lifetime of Columbus. In 1511, however, in the administration of Diego Columbus, a movement was set in motion to occupy Cuba, largely for the purpose of finding gold. Diego Columbus appointed Don Diego Velasquez commander of a force to conquer the island. The Indians in Cuba were similar to those

on the island of Hispaniola, and were, at first, kindly disposed toward the Spaniards. Velasquez was a man of considerable means, being possessed of large estates in Hispaniola. The expedition of Velasquez landed upon the shore of Cuba, and immediately the slaughter of the Indians began. Their naked bodies and poor weapons were no match for the weapons and armor of their enemies; they were soon put to flight, and the Spaniards proceeded to kill men, women, and children in the most cruel and heartless way. Those that were not slaughtered were tied together and driven before the conquerors like cattle to be distributed among the settlers. One of the chiefs, in the east part of Cuba, Hatuey by name, was captured and was sentenced to be burned alive. The priests prepared him for his death, and exhorted him to be baptized in order that he might go to heaven. He asked if the Spaniards would go to heaven, and when told that they would he replied that he had no desire to go to such a place.

Colonization of Cuba

Among those who assisted in the populating and pacification of Cuba was Narvaez, whom Velasquez made his lieutenant. Narvaez had come from the island of Jamaica, which had also by this time been occupied by the Spaniards. With Narvaez came also Las Casas, who was destined to occupy a great and honorable place in the conquest of these islands, and whose protests against cruelty to the Indians, and whose constant work in their behalf throughout his whole life, is the only part of this story which deserves commendation.

Narvaez and Las Casas

Within three years the island of Cuba was conquered, and Velasquez, now appointed governor, proceeded to found various towns, according to Spanish fashion. In 1514 Trinidad, Santa Espiritu, and Puerto Principe were founded; the next year Santiago de Cuba and Habana. This was according to the Spanish method of colony-building. No sooner was a country occupied than the conquistador proceeded to found a town, generally giving it a pious name. Thus such names as Trinidad, Santa Espiritu, Vera Cruz occur over and over again in Latin American geog-

The Founding of Spanish Towns in Cuba

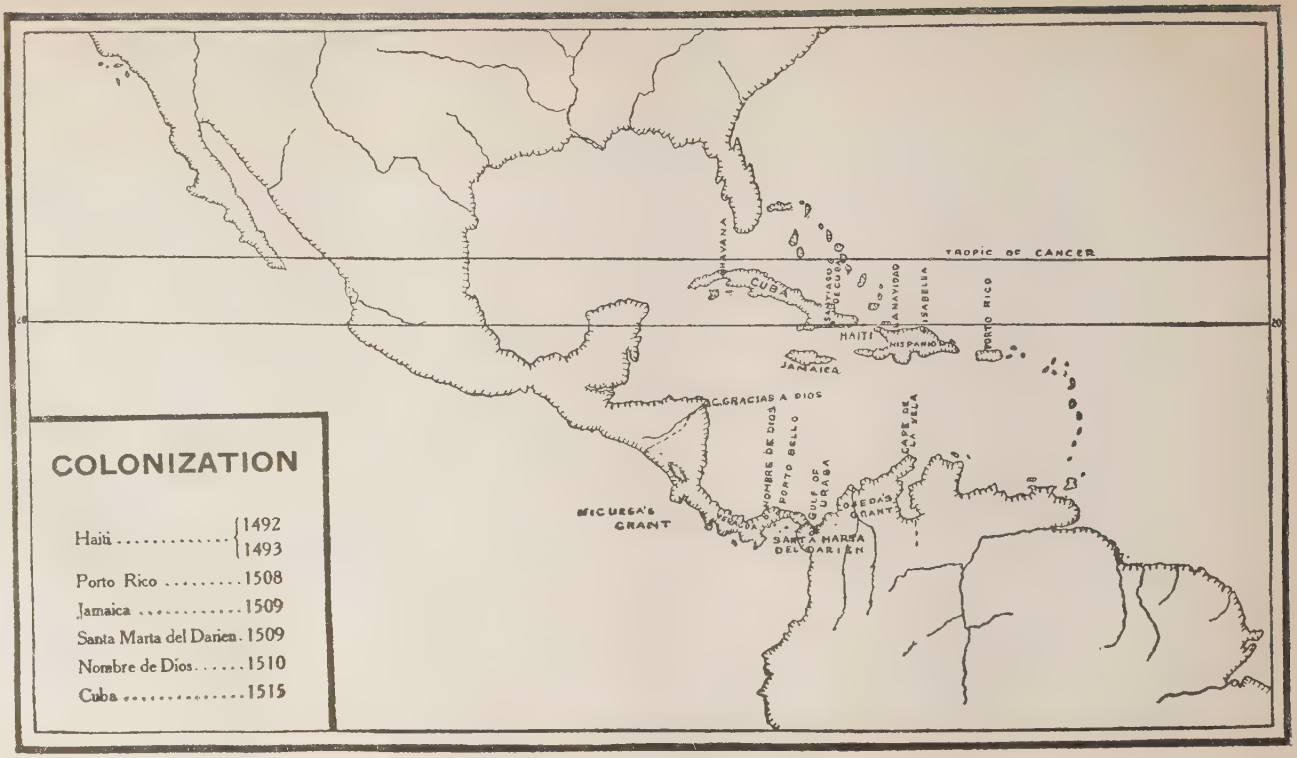
raphy. The Spaniard did not see any inconsistency in ruthlessly slaughtering the natives, and then founding a town with a pious name. He was doing it all in the name of his holy religion, and for the honor of his blessed Saviour.

First Colonies on the Mainland

By 1515 the Spaniards had occupied and colonized all the larger of the West India islands. While these Spanish adventurers were conquering and settling the islands, others were equally busy attempting the more difficult task of occupying the mainland. The very year Diego Columbus came out to Hispaniola with his royal wife, two expeditions set out from the new port of Santo Domingo, in Hispaniola, to found colonies on the mainland. The leaders of these expeditions were Ojeda and Nicuesa. Ojeda was a daredevil adventurer, a type with which Spain was well supplied at this time. He was a man of great personal courage and daring, but with little ability to command men. He had, however, powerful connections in Spain. Nicuesa was also of good birth, a courtier with powerful connections. He had come to Hispaniola with Governor Ovando and had been successful in acquiring great wealth. King Ferdinand had determined to found colonies upon the mainland of South America, and both Ojeda and Nicuesa learning of this desired to be made governor of the new colony. To avoid the dilemma of deciding between the two applicants, the king divided the territory and appointed each governor over a separate province. Ojeda was granted the north coast of South America, from the Gulf of Darien to Cape de la Vela, while to Nicuesa was granted the territory from Cape Gracias á Dios to the Gulf of Darien, the river of Darien being the boundary between the colonies.

Ojeda and Nicuesa Obtain Grants to Plant Colonies on the Mainland

In November, 1509, Ojeda sailed from Santo Domingo with four ships and three hundred men. He landed at the present site of Carthagena and, Spanish fashion, immediately began a war of extermination against the Indians, whom he found particularly warlike, and versed in the use of poisoned arrows. Juan de la Cosa, second in command, was killed, and Ojeda


TROPIC OF CANCER
HAVANA
CUBA
HAITI
HISPANIOLA
JAMAICA
PORTO RICO
C. GRACIAS A DIOS
NOMBRE DE DIOS
PORTO BELLO
GULF OF URABA
CAPE DE LA VELA
MACUREGA'S GRANT
SANTA MARIA DEL DARIEN
COLEDA'S GRANT
COLONIZATION
Haiti 1492 1493
Porto Rico 1508
Jamaica 1509
Santa Marta del Darien. 1509
Nombre de Dios 1510
Cuba 1515

and his band were finally routed. Proceeding westward, he finally founded a colony on the Gulf of Darien, which received the name "San Sebastian." Here the Spaniards succeeded in stealing some gold from the Indians and took some Indian captives. These were sent to Hispaniola. The colonists spent their time looking for gold, paid little attention to their food supply, and it was not long before famine began to stare them in the face. Finally, Ojeda determined to go in search of provisions, leaving Francisco Pizarro in command of the colony. Before leaving, Ojeda made an agreement that if he did not return within fifty days, the colonists were to have the privilege of going where they pleased.

The Founding of San Sebastian

In a stolen Genoese ship Ojeda left his starving colony, destined never to return. A few days afterward he was wrecked upon the shore of Cuba, and for days he and his weakened men stumbled along the swampy shore. After almost incredible hardships they at last succeeded in reaching Jamaica, and from thence made their way to Hispaniola. In the meantime the desperate colonists at San Sebastian decided to leave that coast. They killed their horses for food and embarked in two ships, one commanded by Pizarro. The other ship was sunk, supposedly by a great fish, but the one commanded by Pizarro put in at the present harbor of Carthagena, where they met another vessel, which proved to be a relief expedition under the command of Ensico. With Ensico was Balboa, who had come on board as a castaway, hiding from his creditors. In spite of the protests of Pizarro and his men, Ensico sailed for the site of the abandoned colony of San Sebastian. The ship, however, was wrecked, and the company saved themselves only after the greatest danger. Proceeding on foot, along the shore, fighting the Indians as they went, they finally came to the west side of the Gulf of Darien, where they founded another colony, which received the name Santa Maria del Darien.

Founding of Santa Maria del Darien

The site of this new colony was in territory granted to Nicuesa. While the Ojeda colony was undergoing these various bitter experiences, Nicuesa sailed for his province on the

Isthmus of Panama, with seven hundred colonists. The hardships which had been encountered by Ojeda and his men were duplicated by Nicuesa's men. In making their way up the Isthmus from the south, Nicuesa was separated from his followers, and for a time was left alone on a desert island. Finally, rejoining his men, a colony was established on the Isthmus. Here hunger soon drove them to plunder the Indian villages, and on one occasion they were even forced to cannibalism. At length they determined to abandon Veragua, the site of their first colony. In December, 1510, they set sail eastward; they passed Porto Bello, which had been so named by Columbus, and, reaching another harbor, the company cried out in their weariness, "In the name of God ["en nombre de Dios"] let us stay here!" So there they landed, built a wooden fort, and to this day the name "Nombre de Dios" is given to this place. Of the seven hundred colonists with whom Nicuesa started only one hundred remained alive when the fort at Nombre de Dios was completed, and not one in the company was found strong enough to act as sentinel. Meanwhile the men at Santa Maria, remnants of the Ojeda colony, having come into the territory of Nicuesa, decided to elect him their governor. Nicuesa, however, had become extremely harsh, due to his own suffering. When he attempted to take command of the colony at Darien he was refused a landing, and with seventeen men was set adrift in a rotten vessel and was never heard of again.

The Nicuesa Colony on the Isthmus

Vasco Nunez Balboa now became the head of the united colony. He at once began to explore the Isthmus. He also made alliances with the Indians, even accepting a bride from the daughters of one of the chiefs. It was while he was in close association with the Indians that he learned, through a speech made by one of the Indian caciques, of the existence of a great sea and a golden kingdom to the south. This was in 1512, and the next spring Balboa was made captain-general of Darien. Early in September of the next year he got together a company of two hundred men and started across to find the great sea. On September 25, from the top of the highest range of

Balboa Discovers the Pacific, 1513

mountains on the Isthmus, he looked down upon the Pacific, but it took four days of the most arduous toil to make his way to the shores of the great sea. On reaching the shore Balboa walked out into the water and took possession of the new-found ocean in the name of the king of Spain. After naming the gulf San Miguel he conquered the Indians, on the shore, and then won them over by kind treatment. After recovering from a severe attack of fever he again reached Darien in January, 1514, his expedition having occupied four months.

While Balboa was performing the great service of discovering the Pacific things were going badly for him in Spain. Ensico had returned home and made serious complaint of him at court. Balboa sent a messenger of his own to the king telling the good news of the discovery of the great Pacific, but unfortunately the messenger reached the court too late to serve his master's interests. Balboa was removed from the governorship of Darien and there were many applicants for the position, for news had come to Spain of the wonders of Terra Firma. The coveted place was finally given to Pedrarias Davila, a man of high rank, though he was at the time over seventy years of age. He arrived in Darien with a fleet and some fifteen hundred colonists in June, 1514. Balboa received him respectfully, but a quarrel soon arose between them, resulting in the imprisonment of the former governor. However, peace finally was established, and an expedition was planned under the command of Balboa to find the golden kingdom to the south. This was the first definite plan to search for Peru. Just as the expedition was about to sail, Pedrarias Davila, having suspected Balboa of treason, sent Pizarro to arrest the explorer. This was accomplished, and, after a summary trial, Balboa was condemned to die and was beheaded in 1517.

Pedrarias as Governor of Darien

Thus perished three of the greatest conquistadores of Spain. Ojeda, after untold suffering, died in a Franciscan monastery in Hispaniola; Nicuesa was lost at sea, after having experienced the agony of starvation; Balboa was unjustly executed at the hands of a jealous rival. But in that first colony on the mainland there was yet left one who was to play a conspicuous

part in the Spanish occupation of South America, namely, Francisco Pizarro.

During the first twenty years of Spanish occupation of the New World colonies had been established on all the larger of the West India islands—Hispaniola, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica—while the native populations of these islands had either been subjugated or destroyed. Numerous towns had been founded, and a definite form of colonial government had been devised. After overcoming the most extreme hardships, a colony on the Isthmus had at last been established. So far, however, the Spaniard had received little return from his discoveries or colonial ventures. The amount of gold among the Indians of the islands and the Isthmus had not been large, so the first twenty years of Spanish colonial history were a financial loss to the Spanish monarchs, but it was not long until the returns from the Spanish colonies were to be the astonishment and envy of the world.

Summary of the First Period of Spanish Colonization

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CHAPTER V

THE CONQUESTS OF MEXICO, PERU, AND CHILE

After the founding of colonies on the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hispaniola, a very profitable trade in Indian slaves was begun, for labor was in great demand on the plantations of the conquistadores. In 1517 an expedition, consisting of three vessels, one of them furnished by Velasquez, started from Cuba in search of slaves. The commander of this expedition was Hernandez de Cordoba. They sailed westward from Habana, and were driven by a storm upon the shores of the peninsula of Yucatan. Here they found a much higher type of civilization than the Spaniards had yet seen. After engaging in several fierce fights with these semicivilized people, in one of which Cordoba was wounded, they returned to Cuba, taking with them some native gold and some golden images which they had stolen from a native temple. Soon after their return Cordoba died of his wound, but the gold he had brought incited Velasquez to send out another expedition. This was placed under the command of the governor's nephew, Juan de Grijalva. There were four vessels and two hundred and fifty soldiers. Sailing from Santiago de Cuba in April, 1518, they came first to the island of Cozumel, just off the coast of Yucatan. They coasted around the peninsula and on up the Mexican coast to about the present site of Vera Cruz. At this place Grijalva sent back one of his captains, Alvarado, with a shipload of sick men, while he continued up the coast to about where the present city of Tampico stands. Touching at the shore from time to time, they came in contact with the native population, and at one place were visited by a taxgatherer of the great Montezuma, who told the Spaniards of the glories of the kingdom of the Aztecs, and of the great quantity of gold it contained. Flushed by this news, thinking that he had found the Great Khan himself, Grijalva returned to Cuba, hoping

The First Expeditions to Yucatan, and the Shores of Mexico

that soon he would be sent on another expedition to explore and perhaps conquer this rich and splendid kingdom. But these hopes were not to be realized.

On Grijalva's return to Cuba he learned that his uncle, the governor, had been poisoned against him by Alvarado, and although another expedition was speedily organized, he was not given the command, but to another, Hernando Cortes, fell the good fortune of its leadership. Cortes was the alcalde of Santiago de Cuba, having come out to Hispaniola in 1504, where he had been given land and Indians. When Velasquez went to Cuba at the head of the conquering expedition, Cortes had been appointed his adviser and executive officer. The governor of Cuba and Cortes quarreled, but when Cortes married the sister-in-law of the governor the misunderstanding was allayed, and he was appointed alcalde of Santiago. Velasquez, however, never ceased to be deeply suspicious and jealous of Cortes.

Hernando Cortes

When Cortes received his commission as commander of the third expedition to Mexico he at once threw his whole soul into the undertaking. He spent all his money, and even mortgaged his estate to raise funds for the great enterprise. On November 18, 1518, six vessels sailed out of the harbor of Santiago, and, coasting along the shore of Cuba, other vessels joined the expedition, until finally there were twelve ships. On these ships were 508 soldiers, 109 sailors, about 200 Cuban Indians, and a few native women, several Negro slaves, and sixteen horses, which were destined to play an important part in the conquest. Among the soldiers were 32 crossbowmen and thirteen men carrying firelocks, while the remainder were armed only with swords and spears. The artillery consisted of ten bronze cannon and four falconets.

The Third Expedition

Landing first on the little island of Cozumel, they were met by Aguilar, a Spaniard who had lived eight years among the Indians, and who proved of great value to the expedition, through his ability to speak the native tongues. Early in March, 1519, the fleet set sail from Cozumel, and made its way up the Mexican coast, arriving at San Juan de Ulloa early

in April. Here a landing was made and an encampment formed, and Cortes proceeded to send messengers with presents to Montezuma, the ruler of the Aztec empire. On Easter day the Aztec chief of the territory in which the Spaniards were encamped came to see Cortes, bringing with him as presents a great load of cotton cloth, fine featherwork mantles, and baskets filled with gold ornaments. When Montezuma received the reports regarding the strangers, he decided to send an embassy to them with rich presents, and at the same time to forbid their approach to the capital. This embassy consisted of two hundred nobles and a hundred slaves, and as presents to the Spaniards they brought shields and helmets embossed with pure gold, gold ornaments, richly ornamented garments, strung with gold threads and pearls, imitations of birds and animals in gold and silver, cotton robes, fine as silk; and among the other articles was a Spanish helmet filled with grains of gold to the brim. The greatest gift, however, was two large circular plates, one of gold and the other of silver, as large as wagon wheels, covered with richly carved plants and birds. These great plates were valued at 20,000 pesos de oro (gold), or about $233,400. Naturally enough, these rich presents aroused the cupidity of the Spaniards as never before.

The Spaniards Come in Contact with Montezuma

While these interesting events were taking place trouble was brewing for Cortes. The friends of the governor of Cuba began to accuse him of disloyalty, and they soon announced their intention of returning to Cuba. Cortes immediately disarmed all suspicion by offering to return himself, which, of course, greatly displeased those who desired to stay in the country and reap a rich harvest. These protests were so loud that Cortes finally agreed to postpone his departure and proposed, instead, the founding of a colony in the name of the Spanish sovereign. This scheme was adopted, Cortes appointed officers for the new town, and shortly afterward these officers elected the wily Cortes captain-general and chief justice of the new colony. Thus Cortes freed himself from any technical control of Velasquez, while he obtained supreme civil and military

Founding of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz

control. After this had been accomplished the friends of Velasquez broke out in indignant protest, but, using his new authority, Cortes threw them into irons and they were sent to the ships. This threatened mutiny, however, did not last long, for such was the power of Cortes over men that he was soon able to win them all over to his side once more.

Not long after this another plot was revealed, which was to seize a vessel and sail for Cuba, this movement being headed by the priest Juan Diaz. The plot was discovered only the night before the conspirators were to sail. This led Cortes to take a step which for boldness has few equals in the annals of adventure. He determined to cut off all retreat from Mexico by destroying the fleet. Cortes gave as an excuse to his men that the ships were unseaworthy. After removing the anchors, sails, and cables, the ships were burned.

Before we follow Cortes and his little band of adventurers from the coast to the capital of the Aztec empire we should know something of the condition of this remarkable civilization, which the Spaniards were soon so ruthlessly to overthrow. So far as is known, the first people to occupy the territory about the present City of Mexico were the Toltecs, who flourished in the sixth century. The Toltecs were followed by a ruder people, and they in turn by tribes of a higher grade of culture, the Aztecs, the Tezcucans, and the Tepenacs. These tribes made war upon one another, until finally an alliance was made between them. They settled down around the group of salt lakes in the center of Mexico, and each built their respective capital, namely, Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, in or near these lakes. By the middle of the fifteenth century these confederated tribes began to make conquests across the mountains to the east, and under the rule of Montezuma I they spread toward the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards the ruler of the confederacy was Montezuma II, the grandson of Montezuma I. He had been selected as emperor in 1502, and because of arrogance and assumed pomp was very unpopular. Taxation of the newly conquered territories was very heavy, and a number

Condition of Mexico at the Time of the Coming of the Spaniards

of them were ready to rebel at the slightest provocation. This was a great factor in the success of the conquest by the Spaniards. The most formidable enemies of the Aztecs were the Tlascalans, a tribe lying about half way between Mexico and the coast. These people had maintained their independence for several centuries, and their military power was but very little below that of the Aztecs.

The form of government of the Aztec empire was an elective monarchy, the electors being four noblemen, chosen from among the nobles to perform this service. The sovereigns were always chosen from among the brothers or the nephews of the deceased monarch. The monarch lived in Oriental splendor. He had councils to aid him in the government, and his palace was provided with various halls in which these bodies sat. The legislative power was vested solely in the monarch. There was also a highly developed judicial system, there being a chief judge for each principal city and its dependencies. The laws of the Aztecs were registered in the picture-writing. The chief crimes against society were punishable by death. An adulterer, as among the Jews, was stoned to death, and the institution of marriage was held in great reverence. Revenue was raised by taxation, which was levied upon agricultural and manufactured articles, and was paid in kind, there being no medium of exchange. The taxes were gathered by regularly constituted tax-gatherers, who wore official badges. The religion of this interesting people was a "mixture of enlightened belief and dark superstition." They believed in a supreme Creator, whom they addressed as "the God by whom we live," "without whom man is nothing," etc. Besides the supreme God they had many other gods, who presided over the seasons and the various occupations. Among these were thirteen special deities, the most interesting of which was Quetzalcoatl, the god of the air, who was called the Fair God. During the residence of this god upon the earth the country prospered. According to Aztec tradition, this god was compelled to leave the country, but when he departed he promised to revisit the land at some future time, and to his

Government, Laws, and Religion of the Aztecs

return the people confidently looked forward. This tradition proved of much benefit to the Spaniards, for coming from the east, they were thought to be the representatives of the Fair God. Although the religion of the Aztecs was in many respects an enlightened faith, it was particularly repulsive to the Spaniards because of the prevalence of human sacrifices. The country abounded in temples, which were constructed upon great mounds. In the temple proper was a great sacrificial stone, upon which human beings were placed; their breasts were opened by stone knives, and their hearts torn out. The number of human sacrifices has probably been exaggerated, but undoubtedly many hundreds perished each year as victims of this gross superstition.[1]

The March to Mexico

On August 16, 1519, immediately after the destruction of the fleet, Cortes started toward the capital of the Aztec empire, which was situated on an island in the largest of the inland lakes. He had succeeded in making an alliance with a coast tribe, the Totonacs, and in his force were 1,300 Indian warriors, as well as several hundred others who were useful in dragging the cannon and transporting the baggage. He now had about 400 Spaniards, 15 horses, and 7 cannon. The journey was without special incident until they came to the territory of the unconquered Tlascalans. Cortes sent an embassy to the Tlascalans, requesting that he be permitted to pass through their territory, but without avail. After several severe engagements with these fierce warriors, the Spaniards at last succeeded in bringing them to terms, and an alliance was made with them. As described by Cortes, the city of Tlascala was much larger than Granada; there were many houses of cut stone, public baths, and other indications of an advanced stage of civilization. After a sojourn of twenty days at Tlascala the Spaniards continued their march, the next stop being at Cholula, the sacred city of the Aztecs. Here Cortes discovered a plot to destroy the Spaniards. Gathering the Indians in great numbers in the public square of the city, he turned his cannon upon

[1] According to Bernal Diaz, who was with Cortes, there were 100,000 human skulls in a receptacle in one of the suburbs of Cempoalla.

Adapted from Prescott's Conquest of Mexico

them. It has been variously estimated that from six hundred to six thousand Indians perished in this slaughter. Leaving the city of blood, the Spaniards climbed to the ridge of the mountains inclosing the capital cities. While still some twenty miles away they caught their first view of the splendid valley of Mexico and its group of salt lakes and remarkable temples.

At last the little band of adventurers encamped on the edge of the lake, in the center of which stood the Aztec capital, connected with the shore by stone causeways. "Who shall describe Mexico of the age? It ought to be one who has seen all the wonders of the world. . . . The especial attributes of the most beautiful cities in the world were here conjoined; and that which was the sole boast of many a world-renowned name formed but one of the charms of this enchanted among cities. . . . Like Granada, encircled but not frowned upon by mountains; fondled and adorned by water, like Venice; as grand in its buildings as Babylon of old; and rich with gardens like Damascus; the City of Mexico was at that time the fairest in the world, and has never since been equaled. . . . She was not only the city of a great king but an industrious and thriving people. Mexico was situated in a great salt lake, communicating with a fresh-water lake. It was approached by three principal causeways—constructed of solid masonry, which, to use the picturesque language of the Spaniards, were two lances in breadth."[1] One of these causeways was two leagues in length and another a league and a half. These principal causeways united in the middle of the city where stood the great temple. In Montezuma's palace there was a room where three thousand persons could be easily accommodated, and in the city was a market place where fifty thousand people could buy and sell, while the great temple which stood in the center of the city occupied a space twenty times as great as the market place.

The City of Mexico

It was on November 8, 1519, that the Spaniards entered this magnificent city, by way of the south causeway. As they entered they were met by a thousand nobles, and then came

[1] Sir Arthur Helps, Spanish Conquests of America.

Montezuma himself. The Spaniards were assigned quarters in a council house, where Cortes at once took the precaution to place guards. Soon after entering the city Cortes decided to get control of the person of Montezuma. This stroke had to be accomplished by deceit, but Cortes was fully equal to it. Learning of an attack which had been made upon the Spaniards at Vera Cruz, Cortes went to Montezuma and accused him of inciting it. This Montezuma denied, but Cortes told the monarch that it would be necessary for him to come and stay in the same house with the Spaniards until the affair had been cleared up. Thus Cortes obtained possession of the person of the Aztec ruler, who was never to regain his liberty. A plot to release Montezuma was discovered by the Spaniards. The person responsible for it, the nephew of the ruler, who was king of Tezcuco, was captured and executed. Montezuma was now persuaded to declare his vassalage to the king of Spain, and one of the first things demanded was the payment of a great quantity of gold, amounting, according to modern calculation, to something near $7,000,000. Cortes also took good care to find out where this supply of gold came from.

Spaniards Seize Montezuma

While these things had been taking place in Mexico, another expedition, of eighteen vessels and some twelve hundred soldiers, under the command of Narvaez, had been sent out from Cuba by the suspicious governor. When Cortes learned of the landing of this large force in Mexico (in the spring of 1520) he immediately left Mexico, with seventy soldiers, leaving the forces under the command of Alvarado. It was the plan of Cortes to surprise Narvaez while his army was scattered. This he accomplished, even capturing Narvaez himself. After this remarkable feat Cortes persuaded practically the whole force of Narvaez to join his expedition. Meanwhile things in Mexico had gone badly. While a brave warrior, Alvarado was a poor commander, lacking the craft and skill which Cortes possessed in such a high degree. Fearing an onslaught of the natives, Alvarado decided to attack them first, choosing their great spring festival as the time for the onslaught. In the fight which followed some six hundred Aztecs were killed. In

return the Spaniards were besieged by the natives, and when Cortes returned he found the streets of the city deserted, the market place closed, and the whole city had taken on a deserted appearance.

There followed a fearful attack by the Aztecs. Having been deposed by his people, Montezuma no longer exercised a restraining influence over them. With awful fury they threw themselves upon the Spaniards. Cortes attempted to allay their wrath by sending out Montezuma to address them, but this was of no avail. In contempt they stoned their deposed emperor. He was struck upon the head and died a few days later, on June 30, 1520. Finally Cortes decided to leave the city, and on July 1 the retreat began. That night is known as "la noche triste" among the Spaniards, so great was the slaughter. Cortes started from the city with 1,250 Spaniards, 5,000 Tlascalans, and 80 horses. When the next morning dawned there were left but 500 Spaniards, 2,000 Tlascalans, and 20 horses; all his cannon were in the lake, and forty Spaniards were in the clutches of the Mexicans, doomed to be sacrificed to Mexican war gods. A few days after the withdrawal Indians from the neighboring towns attacked the Spaniards, but this time Cortes was able to defeat them, which served to hold the allegiance of the Tlascalans, who had been on the verge of defection.

La Noche Triste

After such an experience as had befallen Cortes the ordinary leader would have withdrawn from the country, but not so with this adventurer par excellence. He proceeded to gather reinforcements wherever he could. Between July and December, 1520, he gathered about him great forces, won from the surrounding populations. He built boats on the lakes. The four ships which had brought the force of Narvaez he sent to Hispaniola; they returned with horses, men, ammunition, and arms. By Christmas he was ready once more to attack the City of Mexico. His army now numbered 700 infantry, 118 arquebusiers, 86 cavalry, a dozen cannon, and several thousand Indian allies. It was on Christmas day, 1520, that the reconquest of Mexico began. This time he proceeded to attack and conquer the cities around the lakes before proceed-

ing to the great central city. This had been accomplished by spring, and on April 28 the siege of Mexico began. The fighting lasted until August 13, 1521. The fresh-water supply of the city was cut off, and gradually, inch by inch, the Spaniards worked their way toward the city, until finally all native resistance was at an end. The canals and footways were filled with dead Indians and the magnificent city lay a hopeless mass of ruins. An eyewitness of the capture of Mexico thus describes it: "It is true and I swear, Amen, that all the lake and the houses and the barbicans were full of the bodies and heads of the dead men, so that I do not know how I may describe it. For in the streets, and in the very courts of Tlaltelulco, there were no other things, and we could not walk except among the bodies and heads of dead Indians."

The Reconquest of Mexico

Soon after the fall of the city Cortes decided to make it his capital, and he proceeded to reconstruct it, using for the purpose the Indians of the valley. Within four years a new city had risen upon the ruins of the Aztec capital. The plan of the new metropolis, the city Cortes rebuilt, followed that of the old, though there was considerable change in the style of architecture. While the city was being rebuilt enemies of the conqueror were active at court, Cortes for some reason having gained the dislike of Fonseca, the head of the department of the Indies. Another captain-general was sent out, whom the Spaniards in Mexico refused to receive; finally, after an investigation, the accusations against Cortes were dropped and he was appointed governor, captain-general, and chief justice of New Spain. The work of Cortes was not confined to the capital, but settlements were established in every section of the country which afforded favorable conditions. Fleets were sent out to explore the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico. Christoval de Olid was sent by Cortes to occupy and colonize Honduras, and Alvarado was put at the head of a land expedition to subdue Guatemala. Within three years after the conquest of Mexico a country four hundred leagues in length on the Atlantic coast, and five hundred leagues on the Pacific, had been occupied

Administration of Cortes

and annexed to the Castilian crown, and, with the exception of a few interior provinces, had been brought to a condition of entire tranquillity.

II. The Conquest of Peru

We have already noticed the founding of permanent colonies on the isthmus, and the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa. In the year 1519 the city of Panama was founded on the Pacific side of the isthmus. Soon afterward a rude road was cut across, connecting Nombre de Dios and Panama. In some of his earlier exploring expeditions Balboa had learned of the existence of a great kingdom to the southward. He had planned an expedition in that direction, having carried vessels piecemeal across the isthmus, and had collected three hundred men, when the accusations and treachery of Pedrarias cut short his career. In 1522 the first attempt to reach Peru was undertaken by Pascual de Andagoya, but he did not get beyond the limits of the discoveries of Balboa. After the circumnavigation of the globe had been accomplished by Magellan, the attention of the Spaniards was turned decidedly southward, and it was not long until the golden kingdom to the south began to arouse much interest.

First Steps in the Conquest of Peru

After the failure of Andagoya's voyage a partnership was formed between Francisco Pizarro, whom we have already met in the Ojeda colony, an illegitimate son of a Spanish officer; Almagro, a daredevil of fiery disposition and unknown parentage; and Luque, a priest of Panama, who served as a sort of financial agent of the undertaking. The first expedition of the partners started about November 15, 1524, under the command of Pizarro. There were two vessels, though they did not sail together. This expedition returned in a very dilapidated condition, having proceeded only as far south as the San Juan River. Immediately a second voyage was contemplated, though considerable difficulty was experienced in getting under way, due to the opposition of the governor, Pedrarias. Two vessels were again purchased and a hundred and sixty men and a few horses collected. In 1526 they sailed

as far south as the San Juan; here Pizarro landed with most of the men, while Almagro was sent back to Panama after supplies and reinforcements. On his return Almagro found his comrades nearly dead from exposure and starvation. Again they started southward, only to experience increased hardships, when finally it became necessary to send Almagro back once more after supplies. Almagro was detained by Pedrarias, who had become disgusted at the wildgoose chase, and sent back another captain to bring Pizarro and his men back to Panama. Pizarro, however, refused to return, and for seven months he, with a few companions, remained on an island, where they lived mostly on shellfish. Finally, another vessel was sent after Pizarro, which returned, after having made a voyage six hundred miles below the equator, with five live llamas, vases of gold, and several Peruvians on board.

The First (1524) and Second (1526) Expeditions of Pizarro

On his return after his second unsuccessful attempt to reach Peru, Pizarro visited Spain, hoping to organize an expedition independent of the governor of Darien. He succeeded in obtaining an interview with the Emperor Charles V, and from that time became the hero of the hour. He was made captain-general and Adelantado of Peru, and in 1530 returned to Panama, with his four brothers and a number of other enthusiastic followers. Immediately a third expedition was prepared, which set sail from Panama on December 28, 1530. There were 3 small ships, 183 men, and 37 horses. After thirteen days' sail Pizarro landed and marched along the coast, capturing the native towns as he came to them. In one town he seized booty amounting to 15,000 pesos in gold and 1,500 marks in silver. This spoil was sent back to Panama in the ships. Pizarro hoped that this rich haul would attract others to his enterprise. The ships were gone several months, and during their absence Pizarro and his men suffered great hardships. In 1532 he founded the town of San Miguel, where he remained several months, learning of other populous towns and more of the kingdom he had set out to conquer. On September 24, 1532, he left the town of San Miguel, and set out

The Third Expedition, 1530

for the important Inca town of Caxamarca, which he entered on November 15.

Here we shall leave Pizarro, and turn our attention to the civilization of the Incas, and the internal conditions of the country at the time of the coming of the Spaniards.

The territory occupied by the Peruvians or the Incas extended from about the second degree north latitude, the present northern boundary of the republic of Ecuador, to about the thirty-seventh degree south latitude, a distance of nearly 3,000 miles in length, and from 300 to 350 in breadth, an area of some 800,000 square miles. The physical aspects of this country are peculiar in the extreme. The lofty Andes fringe the coast, leaving a narrow belt between the mountains and the sea, the northern part of which is covered with tropical vegetation, while to the south is a rainless desert. The face of the country would appear peculiarly unfitted for the home of a great civilization, and yet the genius of the Indians overcame these great difficulties, and accomplished results, the remains of which are the wonder of scholars even in our own day.

Extent of the Empire of the Incas

The civilization of the country was very old, the historical Incas going back as far as 1380, the first[1] Inca beginning to rule, probably as early as 1250. The culture of this region, however, goes back far beyond the Incas. The tradition of the origin of Inca civilization is as follows: "Thousands of years ago there lived in the highlands of Peru a people who developed a remarkable civilization, and left great ruins, cyclopean in vastness. . . . These people were attacked by barbarian hordes and were driven into the mountains, where they built a city in one of the most inaccessible Andean cañons. Here they remained until they regained their military strength, and finally, their mountain quarters becoming too narrow, they left, and went back to the vicinity of Cuzco, where they established the Inca

Origin of Inca Civilization

[1] The title "Inca" was applied to all the sovereigns, but at first was the tribal name, and was applied to descendants of the original tribe.

kingdom."[1] The Inca power had reached its height at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. In the latter part of the fourteenth century Tupac Inca, one of the most renowned rulers, had conquered territory to the south, now Chile, and had also added the territory of Quito, to the north, which rivaled Peru in wealth and refinement. This conquering Inca was succeeded by his son, Huayna Capac, who died in 1525. This Inca had a multitude of concubines, but his lawful wife had to be one of pure Inca blood. To this lawful wife was born the legal heir, Huascar, but the Inca also had a son by the princess of Quito, Atahuallpa, whom he loved very much, and instead of leaving the whole kingdom to the lawful heir, he divided it, leaving Quito to Atahuallpa. When the Spaniards arrived in the country Atahuallpa had succeeded by treachery in seizing all the territory, and Huascar and his brothers were prisoners.

Civilization of the Incas

The religion of the Incas was a comparatively high type of polytheism, in which ancestor-worship coexisted with sun-worship. The public worship was sun-worship, though there was some reverence paid to the moon. There were four great festivals, at which sacrifices of sheep, rabbits, and birds were made, but there were no human sacrifices, at least at the time when the Spaniards arrived. There was a numerous priesthood, divided into many divisions. The high priest was chosen from the family of the Inca, and the chief priest of each province was likewise of royal blood. Besides the priesthood there were the virgins of the sun, whose chief duties were to keep the sacred fires burning in the temples. There were about fifteen hundred of these nuns at the temple in Cuzco, and these virgins were the concubines of the Inca. In most instances, however, a man was allowed but one wife. The agriculture of the Incas was carried on intensively, indicating that there was a large population. Gardens were carried up the mountain sides, by means of terraces, potatoes, fine cotton, and maize being the chief crops. The Peruvians were familiar with fertilizer, using guano and small fish for that purpose. The

Religion, Agriculture, and Industrial Organization of the Incas

[1] National Geographic Magazine, April, 1913.

Adapted from Prescott's Conquest of Peru

people were also skillful in the weaving of woolen and cotton cloth and in the molding of gold and silver ornaments, which were used extensively in the temples and for personal adornment. They had no form of writing, but kept records by means of knotted cords. In this respect the Incas were not equal to the Aztecs. Before the coming of the Spaniards, Peruvian society was very highly organized, families and villages being classified according to the decimal system. The land was divided into units, the smallest being enough to support man and wife. As children were born, land was added sufficient for their support. There was no private ownership of land; all belonged to the community. Such was the civilization for the conquest of which Pizarro had led his little band of adventurers down the west coast of South America.

By November, 1532, Pizarro had reached the town of Caxamarca, where he found the Inca Atahuallpa encamped. Pizarro sent Hernando de Soto and his elder brother Fernando to visit the camp of the Inca, having meanwhile made plans to get possession of his person, being influenced no doubt by Cortes and his seizure of Montezuma. The meeting between Pizarro and Inca was attended with all the ceremonies known to each. The priest Valverde, who accompanied Pizarro, at once began a long discourse before the Inca, summing up the history and theology of the church, ending it by handing the Inca a copy of the Bible, which Atahuallpa threw in the dust. This act of sacrilege on the part of Atahuallpa aroused the ire of the Spaniards. They proceeded to avenge it. For two hours the slaughter of the helpless Indians continued, Pizarro himself killing most of the attendants of the Inca and capturing the ruler. It has been estimated that the number of Indians killed in this senseless slaughter ranged from two thousand to seven thousand. After his capture Atahuallpa was confined in a room of the building occupied by the Spaniards, and was at first treated with consideration. Observing the desire of the Spaniards for the precious metals, the Inca agreed to fill the room in which he was confined with gold to provide his ransom, and it was to be collected in about two months. To this propo-

Pizarro Seizes Atahuallpa, the Inca

sition Pizarro agreed, and gold in the shape of vases, and temple vessels, began to be brought in, until by June, 1533, the stipulated quantity was nearly complete.

Meanwhile Huascar, the deposed Inca, having heard of Atahuallpa's ransom, sent word to the Spaniards that he would give even a larger sum if they would set him free and support him against the usurper. In some way Atahuallpa heard of the offer of Huascar, and soon after Huascar was found secretly murdered. At this murder the Spaniards became alarmed, fearing that Atahuallpa had means of arousing the country unknown to them, and they proceeded to bring Atahuallpa to trial for the murder of his half brother. Accordingly, a trial was instituted, and after going through the forms, Atahuallpa was duly convicted and sentenced to be burned at the stake, though after he had consented to baptism, he was granted the boon of being strangled with a bow string in the public square at Caxamarca, on August 29, 1533. At the death of the Inca, Pizarro proclaimed one of the Inca's sons his successor, but this son soon died. In September, 1533, the Spaniards left Caxamarca and proceeded toward Cuzco, the Inca capital. On the way they were attacked by six thousand Indians, but the Spaniards easily beat them off, and soon after this Manco, the son of Huascar, came to Pizarro. After making his submission he was proclaimed Inca, and he and Pizarro entered Cuzco together.

The Execution of Atahuallpa

Pizarro now sent Fernando, his eldest brother, back to Spain with the king's part of Atahuallpa's ransom. His arrival in Spain aroused great excitement. In January, 1535, Pizarro founded the town of Lima, which was soon destined to become the most important city in the New World. While he was busy at this task his brother returned from Spain, bringing him news that he had been made a marquis and was to rule over the territory two hundred and seventy leagues south of the river Santiago, while Almagro had been made a marshal and was to be the ruler over the territory to the south of Pizarro. Pizarro's territory was to be called New Castile, and Almagro's New Toledo. This division of territory led to far-reaching

trouble between the partners, for both claimed Cuzco as falling within their jurisdiction. Almagro later started for what is now Chile with two hundred men to conquer the territory over which he had been appointed to rule. No sooner had Almagro departed than Manco, the Inca, raised a revolt. At first he had welcomed the Spaniards' help in the government of his kingdom, but as he saw them despoiling temples, seizing estates, and enslaving his people, the glamour of the white man departed. The Indians besieged Cuzco for six months, from February to August, 1536, when finally Fernando Pizarro relieved the city and the Indians retired. The retiring Indians met the forces of Almagro returning from Chile, and were again defeated.

Division of the Territory and Manco's Insurrection

The next turn in this tangled story is the attempt of Almagro to seize Cuzco. Almagro had found no great and wealthy cities in Chile to plunder, and he had returned to renew his claim to Cuzco. He in turn laid siege to the Inca capital April, 1537, when he seized the city, capturing the two Pizarro brothers, Fernando and Gonzalo. This act of Almagro's started a civil war in Peru which lasted eleven years. Finally, Almagro was captured by the Pizarros, was tried for sedition and executed. In 1539 Fernando Pizarro again returned to Spain with great treasures. On account of the troubles in Peru he was not permitted to return, and he finally died on his estates in Spain in 1578, at a great age. After the death of Almagro his partisans were treated harshly by the Pizarros, and in 1541 a plot was laid by them to kill Francisco Pizarro. On June 26 of this year nineteen men succeeded in breaking into his palace at Lima and murdered the old man, and proclaimed an illegitimate son of Almagro, known as "Almagro the Boy," governor of Peru. Meanwhile there arrived from Spain Vaca de Castro, a learned judge sent out by Charles V to advise Pizarro in the government of Peru. He arrived just at the time of the death of Pizarro, and at once assumed the governorship. A conflict arose between the partisans of Almagro the Boy and Castro, and a battle was fought in which young Almagro was defeated and captured, and finally beheaded.

Civil War in Peru. The Death of Almagro and the Pizarros

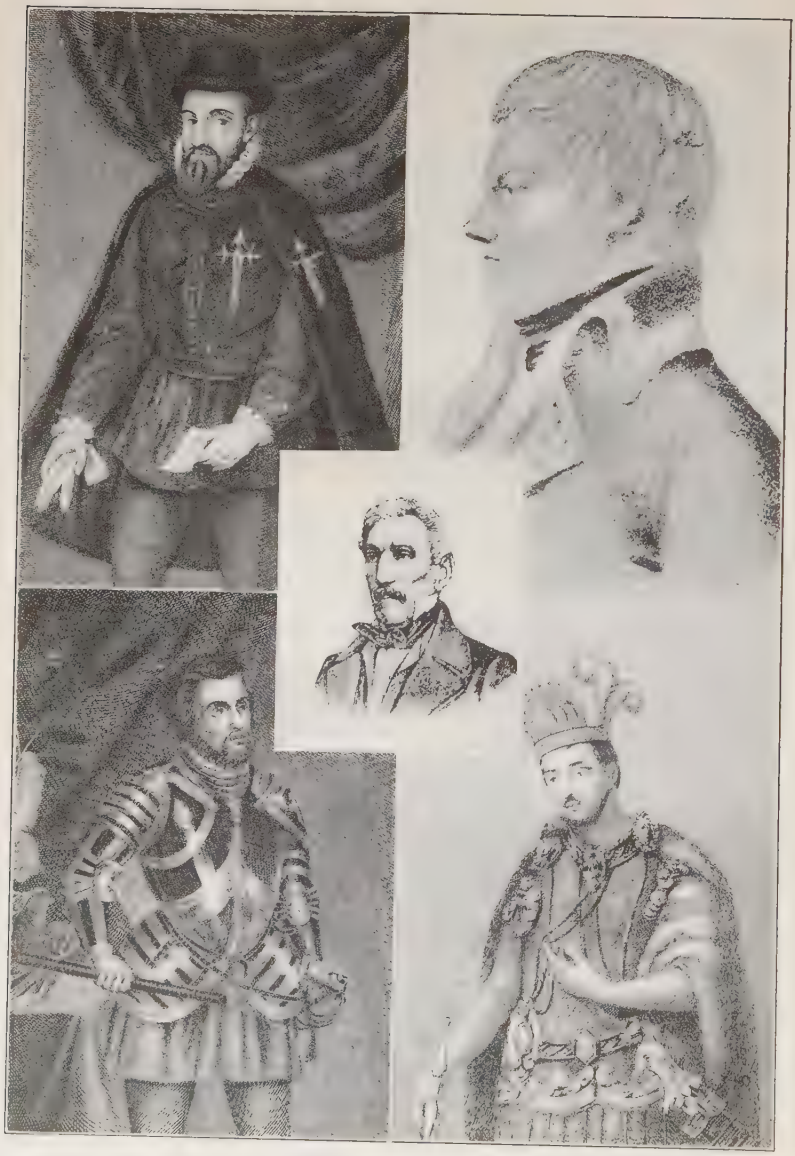
The last of the Pizarros to succumb was Gonzalo. In 1539 he had been placed over Quito by his brother Francisco, and had made an exploring expedition eastward over the Andes as far as the Napo River. Later, in 1542, when what was known as the "New Laws" lately framed in Spain under the influence of Las Casas, to protect the Indians, were proclaimed in Peru, he headed an insurrection against their enforcement and was captured and beheaded. The death of Gonzalo Pizarro ended the strange and turbulent career of the Pizarro brothers in Peru, although peace did not come to the country for several years. In 1551 the first of the long line of viceroys arrived in Lima, in the person of Don Antonio de Mendoza, and with his arrival the period of the conquest came to an end. The Indians were subdued, Spanish government was established in the land, Spanish towns founded, and more than eight thousand Spaniards had come out to Peru as settlers.

The Last of the Pizarros

The discovery and conquest of Mexico and Peru had a disastrous effect upon the prosperity of the older Spanish settlements on the islands. Naturally, the abundant supplies of precious metals found by the followers of Cortes and Pizarro attracted the population of the islands, and those who remained were poverty-stricken and neglected. In 1574 there remained only about a thousand Spaniards on the island of Hispaniola, engaged mostly in sugar and stock-raising. In the same year Cuba had a Spanish population of only two hundred and forty, while Santiago, which had formerly been a city of about a thousand Spaniards, now contained but thirty. Havana had a Spanish population of only seventy, while Porto Rico and Jamaica were in the same plight. In contrast to the depleted condition in the islands was the flourishing condition in Mexico and Peru.[1] In 1574 Mexico City contained a population of fifteen thousand Spaniards, with public buildings, churches, schools, a university, and well-built houses; Vera Cruz boasted some two hundred Spanish families, all merchants and shopkeepers;

Effect of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru on the Islands

[1] Bourne, Spain in America, pp. 196–201, from Juan Loprez de Velasco Geografia y Descripcion Universal de las Indias.



SAN MARTIN

FRANCISCO PIZARRO

CORTES

FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA

MONTEZUMA II

Quito contained some four hundred Spanish families, a hospital, and three monasteries; Lima contained a Spanish population of two thousand families, besides a large Indian population, and already the city was becoming famous for the number of its church institutions.

III. The Conquest of Chile

When Chile first became known to the Spaniards her inhabitants had advanced beyond the first stage of society, for they lived a settled life and practiced agriculture. They lived in village communities, the land being held by the whole community, though the several members of the village held private property. The people of Chile, however, had not nearly reached the stage of development that obtained in Peru and Mexico.

We have already noticed the coming of Almagro, in the year 1535, with five hundred and seventy Spaniards and an army of Peruvians, to conquer the territory which had been given him by the king of Spain. Almagro's attempted conquest was a sad failure. The horrors of his march along the summit of the Andes have been vividly described by Prescott in his Conquest of Peru. By the time the expedition reached the interior of the country many had died of cold and hunger. At first the natives were friendly, looking upon the Spaniards as a superior race of beings, but when the Spaniards began to repay the natives' trust and kindness by cruelty and murder, they took up arms, and so effective was their resistance that Almagro abandoned his expedition and returned to Peru.

Almagro's Attempted Conquest of Chile, 1535

In the year 1540 Pizarro, having determined to conquer Chile, sent Pedro de Valdivia with a force of two hundred Spaniards and a large number of Peruvians to conquer and colonize the territory. Valdivia met with a determined resistance on the part of the natives, but he pushed his way into the country, and in 1541 founded the city of Santiago, naming it in honor of the patron saint of Spain. Pushing southward, Valdivia founded Imperial and Concepción, and later the city of Valdivia, this town being the first instance in which a Spaniard gave his name to a settlement. In the planting of these

more southern cities Valdivia met a new enemy in the fierce Araucanians, and in 1553 he met his death in fighting these warlike Indians. On the death of Valdivia the viceroy of Peru sent his son, Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, as governor of Chile. The year 1553 also marked the beginning of the long Araucanian wars, which were to last for more than a century. So successful were the Indians in their wars against the Spaniards that in 1598 they expelled the Spaniards from nearly all the settlements they had established in Chile. On account of the continued war large bodies of troops were stationed within the territory. The loose tribal organization of the Indians made it almost impossible to conquer them, for they could retire into the mountains and thickly wooded country and the Spaniards were thus kept from inflicting any decisive defeat upon them. General after general and army after army were sent from Peru and Spain, but still the war went on and the natives remained unconquered. The first lull in this long war did not come until 1640, when a treaty of peace was signed between the Spaniards and the natives. The treaty provided that the Biobio River was to be the boundary between the Spaniards and the Araucanians, and the Indians were to recognize the king of Spain as their feudal superior. This peace lasted for fifteen years, when war once more broke out. This struggle lasted until 1724, when a new peace was signed which lasted until 1766. The third war lasted until 1780, when a peace was signed which continued until the end of the colonial period. In no country in South America did the Spaniards meet such persistent opposition as they experienced in Chile from the invincible Araucanians.

Valdivia Establishes Colonies in Chile

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CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDING OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLONIES OF SPAIN: VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, AND LA PLATA

The colonies of Spain in America may be divided into two classes, according to their products: (1) the mineral-producing colonies; (2) the agricultural colonies. The chief colonies of the first type are Mexico and Peru, while the representative colonies of the second class are Venezuela, New Granada, and the colonies established along the Rio de La Plata. Naturally, the Spaniard's chief interest was in those colonies where the precious metals were found in abundance, while the agricultural colonies might be termed the neglected colonies. It is the purpose of this chapter to recount the founding of these neglected colonies.

Venezuela

The coast of what is now Venezuela was the first part of the mainland of America to be sighted by Columbus. In the year following (1499) Ojeda, accompanied by Amerigo Vespucci, explored a much greater section of the coast. It was this expedition of Ojeda's which gave the name "Venezuela" to the country. The Spaniards, seeing the native huts built upon piles, to keep them above the swampy ground, called the country Venezuela, or little Venice. These Spaniards made some attempts at settlement, but with little success. During these early years of Spanish dominion the northern part of South America was under the jurisdiction of Hispaniola. In 1527 an expedition of sixty men from the island founded the city of Coro, which became the seat of government, and so remained until 1576.

Discovery and Early Colonization of Venezuela

The real reduction of the territory, however, was accomplished by the agents of the German merchant house of the Welsers. Charles V had borrowed heavily of this house, and in payment he bestowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held

as a fief of the crown of Castile. The title of "adelantado" was to be given to the person whom the Welsers should nominate, and the right of making slaves of the Indians who resisted them was permitted. Unfortunately, the Welsers committed the carrying out of the plan to some adventurers, who, instead of developing the country, spent their time in plundering and enslaving the Indians. They wandered from district to district in search of mines, and their cruelty and avarice made the exactions of the Spaniards seem mild in comparison. For eighteen years the Welsers held power in Venezuela, and the only civilizing thing accomplished was the founding of the city of Tocuyo. In 1545 the grant was rescinded and the Welsers willingly relinquished their right, for the province was so desolated that it hardly afforded a subsistence to the few Europeans dwelling in the territory. With the withdrawal of the Germans a Spanish governor was sent out, and under the new administration the selling of Indians as slaves ceased, though they were distributed among the Spanish settlers under the law of encomiendas.

The Period of the German Merchants, 1527-1545

During the second half of the sixteenth century the history of the territory is made up of accounts of exploring expeditions, of the founding of towns, and of Indian wars. The first Spanish governor was Perez de Tolosa, whose administration ended with his death in 1548. During all of the latter part of the sixteenth century the coast was much troubled with freebooters and pirates, whose repeated attacks kept the country in a constant state of apprehension and uncertainty. Especially was this true after the trade in Negro slaves became active. English adventurers, following the example of John Hawkins and Drake, opened up a profitable trade between the Guinea coast of Africa and the West Indies and South America. Many of these adventurers became pirates pure and simple, with headquarters in the Bahamas, or on the other small islands, and made a business of raiding the Spanish colonies or capturing treasure ships. Sir Walter Raleigh made two expeditions to the Venezuelan coast in search of the fictitious kingdom of El

Free-booting and Piracy Along the Venezuelan Coast

Dorado. On the first trip, made in 1598, he sailed four hundred miles up the Orinoco, and on returning wrote a valuable description of the country he had discovered.

In 1550 Venezuela became a captaincy-general, though it was not until the close of the seventeenth century that a settled government was established. Caracas was founded in 1567 under the name Santiago de Leon de Caracas, and became the capital of the captaincy-general in 1576. The city of Barcelona was founded in 1617 and soon became the center for agricultural products, as it was situated near fertile grazing and agricultural lands. The crops raised by Negro and Indian labor were maize, potatoes, bananas, and in the higher valleys, wheat and other small grains, as well as tobacco and sugar. Cocoa trees were introduced in spite of the Spanish government, and an illegal trade in cocoa soon grew up. The Spanish government prohibited the exportation of agricultural products, and it was not until a more liberal trade policy was introduced that Venezuela began to prosper.

Progress in Venezuela

New Granada

New Granada was the scene of the first attempt to found colonies on the mainland by the Spaniards. In 1508 Ojeda, having obtained a grant from the king of territory from Cape de la Vela to the Gulf of Uraba, attempted colonization with disastrous results. The first permanent settlement was at Santa Marta, which was founded in 1525, but it was little more than a slave-catching station. Expeditions from Hispaniola scoured the country for Indian slaves, who were sent to the island to work the mines and plantations. Coro, in Venezuela, established in 1527, was likewise a slave-catching center, and expeditions from these two centers penetrated into what is now Colombia, and in a few years the Spaniards had a fair idea of the geography of the country.

Early Colonization

The real colonization, however, began with the founding of Cartagena, in 1533, by Hereda, who established his colony as a gold-seeking center. Hereda and his men were successful in finding profitable gold washings, and it is said they received a

larger amount of gold than even the conquerors of Mexico or Peru. Other cities were founded in succeeding years. Benalcazar, one of the lieutenants of Pizarro, after conquering Quito, proceeded northward into the valley of the Cauca, finally meeting the men from the north coming down from Santa Marta and Cartagena. In 1536 Quesada started from Santa Marta with eight hundred followers and a hundred horses on an expedition into the most populous part of the country. He made his way up the Magdalena and penetrated as far as Bogota, the native capital. Quesada encountered almost unsurmountable obstacles, for the country is very difficult, and by the time Bogota was reached three fourths of his men had been lost. The high plateau about Bogota was inhabited by a race known as Chibchas, who had reached a grade of civilization only slightly inferior to that of the Aztecs or the Peruvians. They lived in houses, wore clothes of cotton cloth, made ornaments of gold, and had carried agriculture to a high degree of perfection. In government and military organization, however, they were far inferior to the Mexicans or Incas, and Quesada found little difficulty in conquering them. In 1538 he established the Spanish city of Santa Fe de Bogota, on the site of the native capital.

Establishment of Santa Marta, Cartagena, and Bogota

In the meantime other Spaniards from Quito and Cartagena had penetrated into the high and fertile plateau, and other cities were soon established. Within twenty-five years after the founding of the first Spanish colony the Spaniards were in undisputed control of the country. The reported fertility of the region caused a stream of settlers to flow in, and flourishing communities, both along the coast and in the interior, were planted. The natives were reduced to the state of serfs under the encomienda system, as elsewhere in Latin America. In 1550 the Royal Audiencia of Bogota was established, and in 1554 a presidency was established. The first president was Andres Venero de Leyva, under whose administration the country was well governed. Roads were built, schools established, coinage introduced, and the country as a whole greatly prospered.

New Granada in the Latter Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Following De Leyva, who ruled until 1575, there was a long series of governors, who came and went without producing much change. In 1718 New Granada was made a vice-royalty. Until that time it had been a part of the vice-royalty of Peru.

Rio de La Plata Colonies

The earliest explorers of the La Plata were not interested in the colonization of the country, but, rather, in trying to find a way through the continent to the coveted east. In 1511 Juan Diaz de Solis entered the Rio de La Plata with this end in view. Fifteen years later Sebastian Cabot, the Pilot Major of Spain, took an expedition up the Parana in the hope of thus reaching the Pacific. He sailed up the river to the mouth of the Tercero, where a colony was founded and named San Espíritu. This was the first Spanish settlement in this part of South America. The colony was composed of one hundred and seventy men, but with Cabot's return to Spain, in 1530, it soon disappeared before the onslaughts of famine and hostile savages. Cabot, however, returning to Spain, gave glowing reports of the country, but was unable to report any gold or a native civilization to plunder. For this reason the country did not prove greatly attractive to the Spaniard. The enthusiasm of Cabot, however, aroused the interest of one man, Dom Pedro de Mendoza, and it was due to his efforts that the first permanent colony was established on the La Plata.

The Early Explorers of the Rio de La Plata

Dom Pedro was a nobleman with influential connections at court. He succeeded in making a contract with the king which provided that he should be made adelantado of the region to be settled, on condition that he send over one thousand men, a number of ecclesiastics, and two hundred horses. The expedition was thoroughly organized according to the Spanish model. Such prestige did the undertaking gain in Spain that volunteers flocked to the enterprise, and instead of one thousand men there were two thousand five hundred when they finally set sail on September 1, 1534. The colony landed at the present site of Buenos Ayres in February, 1535, where they founded a city

Founding of the First Colony on the La Plata

and named it Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres. To this new city, however, prosperity failed to come. Instead there came famine and pestilence, which rapidly decreased their number, until a year from their landing there were but six or seven hundred remaining. The Indians inhabiting the region were savages and lived in small tribes scattered over the plains. These Indians were extremely hostile to the Spanish settlers and carried on constant warfare against them. Finally, the desperate colonists abandoned their settlement and fled up the river, hoping either to find El Dorado or reach the colonies already established about Lake Titicaca.

Pushing up the Paraguay, the party finally divided. One group, under the command of Irala, remained behind and founded a permanent settlement on the present site of Asunción. About two hundred of the adventurers continued up the river, but were never heard of again. Years afterward friendly Indians reported that they had reached the slopes of the Bolivian mountains, where they had found much gold and silver, and were returning with their treasure when they were ambushed by hostile Indians and perished to the last man.

Founding of Asunción

The new colony established at Asunción was very far away, a thousand miles from the coast, and was left much alone. In 1540 a new adelantado, De Vaca, was appointed. He succeeded in making his way to the settlement, but the settlers soon tired of his rule and he was sent back to Spain. The colonists then selected Irala as governor. He continued the dominating figure in the colony until his death in 1567. The rule of Irala was important because of the relationship which he established between the settlers and the Indians. Laws were made providing that any Spaniard might conquer a tribe of Indians and become its master, holding it under the title of encomienda. Polygamy was also introduced, which became general in the colony. Irala himself espoused the seven daughters of a certain Indian cacique, and each of the soldiers was allowed two wives. This led to a rapid mingling of the blood of the Spaniards with the natives. The horses brought by the Spaniards multiplied rap-

The Administration of Irala at Asunción

idly, as did also their sheep and cattle, and it was not long until vast herds of live stock were wandering over the limitless pampas. Pastoral life more and more appealed to the Spaniards and Creoles of the region, and live-stock products became increasingly important in the valleys of the great rivers.

While Asunción was struggling for life other attempts were made to found a city at the mouth of the river. In 1542 De Vaca arrived from Spain, on his way to Asunción, with four hundred Spaniards, and a second attempt was made to establish Buenos Ayres. The site selected for the city was "one of the worst ever chosen for a city." It has one of the worst harbors in the world for a great commercial center, but the Spaniards persisted in their efforts and to-day Buenos Ayres, the greatest city of the southern hemisphere, is a monument to the persistence of the Spanish conquistadores.

The Founding of Buenos Ayres

De Vaca's attempt was likewise a failure. Zarata, the third adelantado, made another attempt, but failed as badly as either of his predecessors. De Garay, a man of energy and foresight, who had taken a prominent part in the conquest of Peru, was the leader who finally solved the difficulties of establishing a city on the coast. In 1576 he was appointed lieutenant-governor and captain-general of Rio de La Plata, and continued his rule until slain by the Indians in 1584. Under him many colonies were established in different parts of the territory, among them Santa Fe. In the spring of 1580 he sent overland from Santa Fe two hundred Indian families, with horses, cattle, and sheep, while boats carried arms, ammunition, seeds, and tools. He and forty companions followed down the river to the site of the colony. This well-organized enterprise was successful in the permanent establishment of Buenos Ayres.

Until 1617 Buenos Ayres and Asunción were under the same government, and both a part of the vice-royalty of Peru. Following the death of Garay conditions in the valley of the La Plata were unsettled. The people were more independent than elsewhere in Spanish America and insisted on having a part in the selection of their rulers. In 1591 the colonists elected Arias de

Administration of Saavedra

Saavedra, a native of Asunción, as their ruler, and his election was confirmed by the crown. Four times did Saavedra serve as governor of the province, his last term being from 1615 to 1618.

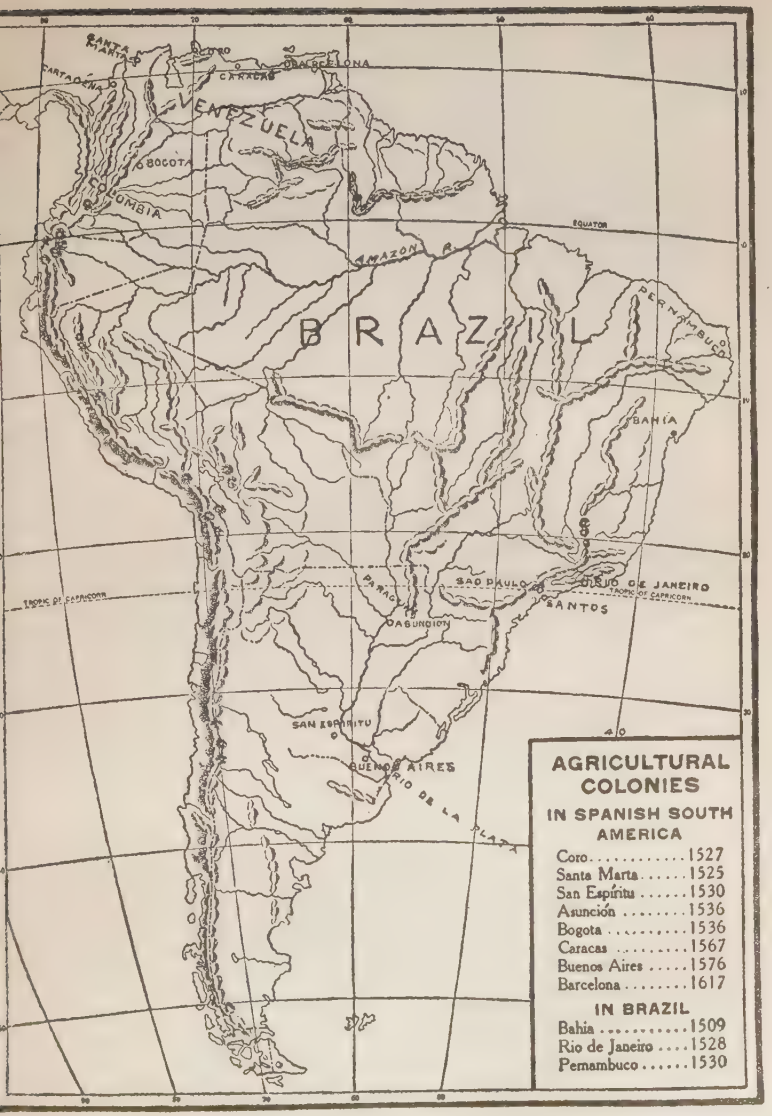
By 1617 Buenos Ayres had become a town of some three thousand people, and the right bank of the Parana as far as Santa Fe was covered with vast herds of cattle and sheep belonging to the Creoles. Other cities also were springing up.

Buenos Ayres Made a Separate Province

In this year (1617) the province was divided and Buenos Ayres became separate from Asunción or Paraguay. The new province included the present Argentina provinces of Buenos Ayres, Santa Fe, Entre Rios, and Corrientes, as well as the present republic of Uruguay. The first governor of this new territory was Diego de Gongora, while the first separate governor of Paraguay was Manuel de Frias.

Before the division of the province Jesuit missionaries had gained a foothold in Paraguay. Their influence greatly increased until they had established a veritable theocracy over certain of the Indian tribes. They first entered the country in 1586 for the purpose of bringing Christianity to the Indians and established a school in Asunción. They later pushed out into the remoter parts of the country. The natives were treated with great kindness. The Jesuits learned the Indian tongue and taught the Indians the rudiments of religion. Their success was phenomenal, and it was not long until they had gathered large numbers of Indians into settled communities and were teaching them agriculture and other civilized arts. The natives were taught to build comfortable houses; warehouses were constructed to care for the crops, while the native women were instructed in the arts of weaving and spinning. In 1608 Philip III gave his royal sanction to the Jesuit work along the upper Parana. In 1614 there were one hundred and nineteen Jesuits at work in this region, and from this date to 1769, when the king of Spain banished them from all of his dominions, the Jesuits controlled the Indians of Paraguay and adjoining territory.

The Jesuits in Paraguay


SANTA MARTA
CARTAGENA
BARCELONA
CARACAS
VENEZUELA
BOGOTA
COLOMBIA
EQUATOR
AMAZON R.
BRAZIL
PERNAMBUCO
BAHIA
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
SAO PAULO
RIO DE JANEIRO
SANTOS
PARAGUAY R.
ASUNCION
SAN ESPIRITU
BUENOS AIRES
RIO DE LA PLATA
AGRICULTURAL COLONIES
IN SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA
Coro.....1527
Santa Marta.....1525
San Espíritu.....1530
Asunción.....1536
Bogota.....1536
Caracas.....1567
Buenos Aires.....1576
Barcelona.....1617
IN BRAZIL
Bahia.....1509
Rio de Janeiro....1528
Pernambuco.....1530

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CHAPTER VII

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION OF BRAZIL

In February, 1500, Vincente Pinzon, one of the companions of Columbus on his first voyage, saw land in the neighborhood of Cape Saint Roque. It is also probable that Ojeda and Vespucci, six months before, saw the coast of Brazil at about the same place. The real discovery of Brazil, however, was the work of the Portuguese navigator Cabral. This Portuguese nobleman sailed from Lisbon in March, 1500, on a voyage to India, continuing the work of Da Gama. It is said that Da Gama wrote the sailing instructions for the voyage, which gave direction to bear eastward after passing the thirty-fourth degree south latitude. Whether by accident or not, Cabral in May, 1500, sighted land in what is now the southern part of the present state of Bahia. After landing and erecting a large stone cross, Cabral took possession of the country for his king and then continued his voyage around Africa, to India.

Portuguese Discovery of Brazil, by Cabral

The news of this discovery reached Portugal in the fall of 1500, and a small fleet was at once dispatched to ascertain the extent and condition of the land discovered. They hoped to find a highly developed civilization, but the natives they saw were but savages and gave little promise of a highly developed state of culture. This expedition was under the command of Amerigo Vespucci, now in Portugal's employ. He coasted southward along the east coast, naming rivers and bays as he went. Thus he reached the Rio San Francisco on Saint Francis Day and gave the river the name of the saint; on New Year's day, 1501, he sailed into the harbor of the present city of Rio de Janeiro and named the harbor the River of January. For two thousand miles he sailed along the coast looking for gold, silver, and spices, but the only thing of value found was Brazil wood, and

Vespucci's Voyage to Brazil

it was not long until the country which produced this product in such abundance became known as Brazil.

Portugal was slow to colonize the new country which had come into her possession so unexpectedly. An occasional Portuguese ship sailed along the coast, gathering dye wood, and the coast came to be well known to navigators. Ships from other countries, especially those of France, came more and more frequently, and although Spain never seriously disputed the claim of Portugal, yet it became increasingly evident that Portugal must establish permanent colonies if she hoped to retain the territory. The colonists to be sent over were criminals set on shore by the ships bound for India. One of this class was Diego Alverez, landed in 1509 near the present site of Bahia. He made terms with the savages and finally married a daughter of a chief and raised a numerous half-breed family. Another such was John Ramalho, who did much the same as Alverez near Santos. In succeeding years other such characters were landed, one of whom, collecting an army of Indians, went on a gold-hunting expedition, penetrated the coast range, and entered territory tributary to the Incas, several years before the Pizarro conquest.

Portugal Retains the New Found Coasts

The first regular colonizing attempt was organized in 1530, when five ships and several hundred colonists, under command of Matin de Sousa, set sail for Brazil. They reached the coast near Pernambuco in the early part of 1531. A colony was planted on a little island, São Vicente, near the present port of Santos, where they were welcomed by Ramalho and his half-breed family. Following the establishment of this first regular colony, a number of others were undertaken in quick succession. It was decided by the Portuguese crown to divide up the whole coast into feudal grants, fifty leagues in length, with no limits in the interior. These were given to Portuguese noblemen with absolute power over the natives. This system had already been adopted in the Madeira and Azores, and was very naturally adopted for Brazil. Twelve of these grants were marked out, though only upon six were permanent colonies planted.

Early Portuguese Colonization of Brazil

Brazil was the first colony in America to be established upon

an agricultural basis. While the colonists upon the islands were practicing agriculture to some extent, yet up to this time the precious metals were the all-absorbing attraction everywhere in the Spanish colonies. The basis for successful Brazilian colonization was the sugar industry. Sugar cane was brought from the Madeira Islands as early as 1526; the industry prospered from the start, and it was not many years until Brazil became the chief source of the world's supply. Although Portuguese law forbade the enslavement of the Indians, the colonists paid little heed to this prohibition, and the savages were enslaved in great numbers. The native Brazilians, however, were not so easily induced to labor as were the natives of Peru and Mexico, and the importation of Negroes from the Guinea coast became a common practice. As a result the Negro population of Brazil soon grew to be the most numerous in South America.

Brazil, the First Agricultural Colony in America

Another interesting contrast between the Portuguese colonies in America and those of Spain is that the Portuguese came to South America with their families, which was true of all classes. The Spaniard, especially the chief among them, came out alone, and often returned after a period of office-holding. The Portuguese colonist sold out his possessions at home and brought his household with him to America. Brazil early became a plantation colony, and the products of the east, familiar to the Portuguese, were early transplanted to the Brazilian plantations.

Portuguese Colonists Bring Out Their Families to Brazil

By the middle of the sixteenth century the whole coast line from the mouth of the Amazon to the mouth of the La Plata was studded at intervals with Portuguese settlements, in all of which Portuguese law and justice were administered. In 1549 the king of Portugal took a new step in his American colonies. He revoked the grants which had been made to certain noblemen in order to concentrate the government in the hands of a central power. Thomas de Sousa was the first governor-general. He sailed for Brazil in April, 1549, with six vessels, on board of which were three hundred and twenty officials, three

The Government of Brazil Centralized, 1549

hundred convict colonists, and six Jesuits. The instructions were to build a strong city at Bahia, where the seat of government was to be established. Within a few months a town of over two hundred houses had been built and fortifications erected. The town received the name of São Salvador, which soon became the recognized center of Portuguese interests in America.

Jesuit Work in Brazil

The Jesuits brought over by De Sousa began at once to work among the Indians. These heroic priests went out alone among the Indian tribes, lived with them, learned their language, and exhorted them to abandon cannibalism and polygamy. Everywhere they were successful with the Indians, though they experienced great difficulty among the Portuguese, many of whom were leading scandalous lives. The Jesuits opposed the enslavement of the Indians, and their villages of converted Indians served as refuges for slaves fleeing from the plantations. Especially was this true in São Paulo, where plantation owners came in constant conflict with the Jesuits. In 1552 the first bishop for Brazil was appointed, which greatly aided the work of the church in the colony.

The French in Brazil; the Founding of Rio de Janeiro, 1558

In 1558 the French, who had all along been interested in the Brazilian coast, founded a numerous colony at Rio de Janeiro, composed mostly of Huguenots. It was Admiral Cologny who conceived the idea of establishing a refuge for his persecuted countrymen in America. An adventurer, Nicolas Villegagnon, was selected to lead the colonists out to America. He proved a traitor and badly mistreated the colonists, many of whom returned to France. Finally, Villegagnon himself, finding his force diminished, was compelled to return. During his absence the Portuguese seized the colony and in 1567 succeeded in firmly establishing their authority.

The governor under whom the French were expelled was Mem da Sa, a very able and experienced administrator. He came to Brazil in 1558 and continued to administer the colony until his death in 1572. The colony experienced great prosperity during these years, and most of the settlements grew rapidly. At his death there were about sixty thousand civilized

people in the colony, about twenty thousand of whom were white. By far the largest proportion of the population lived in the northern part of Brazil, in the vicinity of Pernambuco and Bahia, while smaller settlements were scattered along the coast southward. Most of these settlements were primarily engaged in the sugar industry, the average plantation producing forty-five to fifty tons of sugar annually. The Brazilian plantations were large and there was little selling of land. Land was free and nontaxable, and the owner could hold great tracts without cultivation. The rural population was greatly scattered, there being practically no small farmers. The sugar planters lived lavishly and spent great sums on social entertainment, and rich silks and velvets were commonly seen among them. Many sugar planters commanded incomes of ten thousand dollars and upward, and extravagance and abundance went hand in hand.

Brazil in the Sixteenth Century

Following the death of the king of Portugal in 1580, and many of the Portuguese noblemen in a battle against the Moors in Africa, Philip II of Spain succeeded in establishing himself upon the Portuguese throne. For sixty years the crowns of Portugal and Spain were united. During these years Brazil suffered more or less neglect, owing to the fact that it was generally believed that Spain's colonies were superior in wealth to those of Portugal. The internal management of Brazil, however, went on much as before, and the Portuguese continued to hold the monopoly of Brazilian commerce. In this period in Brazilian history the Dutch, English, and French were active in their attacks upon the Brazilian coast. During these years the Dutch were carrying on their heroic struggle for independence, while England and Spain were also at war. Brazil, now a Spanish possession, was therefore a legitimate place of attack. The French also renewed their efforts to regain a foothold on the coast, and in 1612 a French Protestant colony was planted on the island of Maranhao. In 1616, however, the Portuguese drove the French away and took possession of their colony.

The Period of Spanish Rule in Brazil—1580–1640

Of far more lasting importance than the attempts of the

French to gain a foothold were the activities of the Dutch. The Dutch had gained their independence by the close of the sixteenth century, and the early years of Dutch independence are among the greatest in her history. The Dutch were active on the sea, in commerce, and trade. Dutch ships were frequenting every sea, and Dutch ambition was reaching out and grasping after markets and colonies. In 1595 the Dutch East India Company was formed, and her trade with the East Indies was the most extensive in Europe. While this Dutch company was engaged in laying a foundation for a colonial empire in the east, another Dutch company, the Dutch West India Company, was incorporated. The object of this new company (organized 1621) was not alone to establish legitimate trade relations in the New World, but also to plunder the treasure fleets of her arch enemy, Spain. In fact, this may be said to have been the chief object.

Dutch Activity in the Seventeenth Century

In 1624 a great Dutch fleet attacked the Brazilian capital and captured the town, the governor himself becoming a prisoner. For two years they held Bahia, when Spain sent forty ships and eight thousand soldiers, and the Dutch surrendered. The Dutch continued to harass the fleets of Spain and Portugal, and in thirteen years captured over five hundred ships, and booty amounting to $40,000,000. In 1630 the Dutch captured Pernambuco and all efforts of the Spanish government to take the town were unavailing, and by 1636 the Dutch were firmly established along the San Francisco River. When Portugal regained her independence from Spain an impulse toward national feeling was created among the Portuguese living under Dutch rule in Brazil. In 1544 a rebellion was organized against the Dutch, culminating in 1655, when the Dutch were compelled to surrender Pernambuco. With this event the power of the Dutch in Brazil came to an end.

The Dutch Establish Themselves Upon the Brazilian Coast—1630-1655

By this time the Portuguese began to appreciate the importance of Brazil, and King John IV conferred upon his heir the title of "Prince of Brazil." Following the war with the Dutch the Portuguese government was unable to enforce the ex-

clusive commercial policy, so dear to both Portugal and Spain, for treaties with England and Holland had been made, allowing them trade privileges. As a result of this more liberal policy Brazil experienced a great wave of prosperity. Population rapidly increased, new towns sprang up, and by the end of the seventeenth century Brazil contained a population of seven hundred and fifty thousand. The old restrictive policy, however, was soon restored, and monopolies were granted to certain commercial companies. The Jesuits also became more active, and established missions along the valley of the Amazon. This activity served to arouse the resentment of the Brazilians, who did not object to their activity along the Amazon, but did resent their encroachment in the more populous districts. In 1684 a rebellion broke out against the Jesuits, which proved so serious that Portuguese officials became more careful in granting favors to the order.

Brazil During the Seventeenth Century

In the later seventeenth century gold was discovered in Brazil. For some years there had been rumors that the Jesuits were secretly working gold mines with Indian labor along the Rio San Francisco. In 1693 large native nuggets of gold were found in São Paulo and this news caused great excitement and a rush began toward the interior, which threatened to depopulate the settlements along the coast. Even Portugal sent out gold-seekers in great numbers. The province of Minas Geraes became a great gold-producing center and within fifty years produced seven million five hundred thousand ounces. The coming in of so many outsiders caused resentment on the part of the Paulists who had first discovered the gold, and quarrels soon arose which resulted in anarchy and civil war. The government attempted to put mining laws into force and collected a tax on every slave employed in the mines. Before gold could be exported it had to receive the government stamp in government melting houses.

Discovery of Gold

Again in the eighteenth century Brazil was troubled by invasion of the French. Civil wars also broke out in Pernambuco, caused by the corrupt rule of the royal governors. The Brazil-

ian sugar planters led the revolt and were successful in overthrowing the government. A republic was even proposed, but when a new governor came out the insurgents laid down their arms. In the eighteenth century Portugal became involved in the war of the Spanish Succession as allies of the English and Dutch, and in 1710 a French expedition landed at Rio de Janeiro and made its way into the center of the town, only to be captured a little later by the populace led by the Portuguese governor. The Portuguese were very cruel in their treatment of the French prisoners, most of them being killed. This cruelty did not long remain unavenged. The next year a large French fleet, with six thousand troops under the command of Admiral Tourin, arrived before Rio de Janeiro, and after days of hard fighting the city fell. On the French threatening to burn the city a ransom of six hundred and ten thousand crusados and five hundred cases of sugar was paid, besides provisions for the return voyage.

Revolt Against Bad Rule

The French Capture of Rio de Janeiro, 1710-11

In the first part of the eighteenth century Portugal suffered under the corrupt rule of John V, one of the most dissipated of kings. Corruption also prevailed in Brazil. Brazil was made to contribute to the revenues of the mother country, and taxes of every description were imposed upon products and people. All trade with European states except Portugal was prohibited. Monopolies were granted on rum, tobacco, and numerous other articles of commerce. Bribe-taking was common among officials, the administration of justice was interfered with by the governors, who looked after friends and favorites at the expense of justice, while every other known form of corruption everywhere prevailed.

Corruption in the Governments of Portugal and Brazil

The last half of the eighteenth century was a period of reform. King John V died in 1750 and the Marquis of Pombal completely renovated the administration of both Portugal and Brazil. One of the causes of corruption had been the influence of the clergy in politics. The Jesuits had also been active in resisting reform. The Marquis of Pombal sent over his brother

as captain-general of Maranhao and Para, and one of his first acts was to deprive the Jesuits of temporal power. This was followed in 1760 by the expulsion of the order from Brazil. Their schools, colleges, and churches were confiscated. and the Indians whom they had collected into villages were left without leaders or teachers, and they either became the prey of ruthless settlers or reverted to their savage state. Among the reforms of Pombal was his attempt to protect the Indians against enslavement. This resulted in greatly increasing the number of Negro slaves. With this increased importation of Negroes intermixture with the Negro rapidly followed, and it became common for young Brazilians to have Negro mistresses. The Dutch had been slaveholders during their occupation of Brazilian territory, and when they were driven out the Brazilians took over their slaves. This led to an increase of Negro importation, as did also the discovery of gold. It was not long until Negro labor was used everywhere and the Negro became the most numerous single element in the population. By the end of the eighteenth century twenty thousand slaves were imported annually into the country and five thousand were sold every year in Rio de Janeiro alone.

The Reforms of Pombal; the Expulsion of the Jesuits, 1760

Negro Slaves in Brazil

As Brazil grew in wealth and population the revenues obtained by Portugal from her great colony likewise increased. It has been estimated that between 1728 and 1734 the annual sum received by the Portuguese government from Brazil was not less than $10,000,000. There were heavy taxes on imports; iron and salt were taxed a hundred per cent; the crown received the royal fifth from the products of the mines, while trade restrictions of every variety hampered the free interchange of products. In spite of these absurd restrictions the foreign trade of Brazil at the close of the colonial period amounted to some $20,000,000 annually and the population had grown to over 2,000,000, distributed as follows: 430,000 whites, 1,500,000 Negroes, 700,000 Indians. There were 12 cities and 66 towns. Rio de Janeiro was the largest city with a population of some 30,000. Social

Brazil at the Close of the Eighteenth Century

life was of the most degraded kind, and even wealthy planters lived in filth and degradation. The church was corrupt, while lazy and immoral priests swarmed the streets of the cities and towns.

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CHAPTER VIII

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The colonial government instituted by Spain for her American colonies was in many respects the most highly developed system of colonial control ever put into operation. To say, however, that it was highly developed does not necessarily imply that it was highly successful. On the other hand, we must not jump to the conclusion that it was a complete failure. Spain was one of the first modern nations to establish a colonial empire and a definite colonial system. For three hundred years she governed one of the most widely extended empires that have ever existed. For these reasons her system of colonial government deserves our respect and should commend our study.

Importance of the Spanish Colonial System

To get the best understanding of Spain's colonial system it will be well for us to know something of the kind of institutions which prevailed in Castile, especially at the time the colonies were established. Castile had been instrumental in the discovery and colonization of the Indies, and the government devised for the colonies was modeled closely after the institutions of that realm. At the time of the discovery of America the government of Castile was undergoing a thorough reorganization at the hands of the Catholic kings, and several of the institutions, afterward transferred to the colonies, were in the formative stage.

Colonial Institutions Modeled After Those of Castile

At the head of the Castilian realm stood the sovereign, in theory supreme and absolute. In former times the Cortes had been a check upon the power of the sovereign, but under Ferdinand and Isabella it had lost much of its authority. Of greatest importance in the administration of the government were the councils. There came to be eight of these, but the Council of Castile was the earliest organized and remained by far the most im-

The Sovereigns and the Councils

portant. Every member of the councils was appointed directly by the sovereigns and could be dismissed at their pleasure. "Through them the sovereigns carried their absolutism into every department and subdivision of the conduct of the government." When the time came to organize a government for the colonies the monarchs simply formed another council, the Council of the Indies, which was modeled after the Council of Castile.

Among the institutions which underwent reorganization at the hands of the Catholic kings were the tribunals of justice. At first there was but one royal court, known as the royal audiencia, but later other courts were formed, all of which were called audiencias. Besides being courts of justice, the provincial audiencias had legislative and administrative functions, though in their administrative capacity they were subject to instructions from the king. They also decided elections and confirmed judges. In their judicial capacity the audiencias were divided into a civil and criminal court, each of which was presided over by a judge. In every audiencia there was an officer called a fiscal, who was the prosecutor, and also certain other officials corresponding somewhat to our sheriff and constable.

The Audiencias

Before the time of Ferdinand and Isabella the government of Spain was greatly decentralized, and there was much trouble in collecting the taxes and enforcing justice. It became necessary to introduce certain officials whose duty it was to look after the royal interests in the provinces and cities. This new officer was the corregidor. In 1480 they were sent for the first time to all Castilian cities, and from that time this institution was extended over the entire realm. The corregidor became extremely powerful and exercised military, judicial, financial, and executive functions. His duty was to see that all the laws of the kingdom were enforced and that the king was not defrauded of either the honor or taxes due him. The district over which he presided was called a corregimiento. The corregidor has been described as the "omnicompetent servant of an absolute king."

The Corregidor

In connection with this new official, the corregidor, there

developed another institution known as the residencia. This was an enforced residence of an official, for several months after his term of office closed, so as to give any person in his district, who had a grievance, an opportunity of entering suit against him. The corregidor was subject to this enforced residence, as he was always appointed from without his corregimiento. The corregidor, however, was not the only official subject to this regulation, but it was later extended to several others. The purpose of the residencia seems to have been two fold—to secure the highest possible efficiency among officials and to enable the crown to gain a further hold over officials who represented them at a distance.

The Residencia

The tendency in the government of Spain after the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella was toward centralization. Reforms increasing the royal power were introduced from the beginning of the reign of the Catholic kings. The monarchs, however, never got over this suspicion that they were being defrauded by the provincial and district officials, and for this reason officers were appointed whose duty it was to watch other officials. One office was set over against another, and powers, duties, and privileges were vaguely defined.

Tendency Toward Centralization in the Spanish Government

The machinery of government, already developed or in the process of development, in the mother country was transferred to the colonies. The difficulties in the administration of colonies so vast, and so far away, were extremely great. The operation of the laws was slow and cumbersome, while official "activities on either side of the ocean were only too often shackled by red tape and routine, or else smothered under mountains of documents."

When Pope Alexander VI issued the papal bull, after the first voyage of Columbus, he conveyed to Ferdinand and Isabella the new lands, and nothing was said about the Spanish nation. Thus from the beginning America was considered the property of the Spanish sovereigns and the administration of the affairs of the colonies was carried on with this presumption. From a strictly legal point of view, Mexico, Peru, and later

the other states of equal dignity, appear as kingdoms in a personal union with the kingdom of Spain, rather than as colonies in the ordinary meaning of that term. "The king of Spain bore much the same relation to the colonies that he bore to the kingdom of Spain itself." The regular governing agencies in Spain, however, had nothing to do with the government of the colonies. New and special agencies were created to assist the king in the governing of his vast colonial kingdoms.

Position of the Spanish Sovereigns in the Government of the Colonies

First in rank among these special governing agencies for the colonies stands the Council of the Indies. Its beginning dates from 1493, when Juan de Fonseca was appointed to assist the admiral in preparing for his second voyage. In affairs pertaining to the Indies this council was supreme. It had sole right of making laws for the Spanish possessions; it was a court of last resort for all cases pertaining to America; while it advised the king on all questions relating to the administration of American affairs. It early became the custom to appoint persons as members of the council who had seen service either in America or in the Philippines. The council became fully organized in 1542. Its meeting place was Seville. One of its duties was to collect all available information about the Indies; another was to serve as a nominating board for "all civil and ecclesiastical officers in the Indies." In the course of two hundred years the legislation of this body was collected into a body of law known as the "Laws of the Indies," which dealt with every duty and right of officials and inhabitants.

The Council of the Indies

Besides the Council of the Indies, another body was created in 1503 to superintend the economic affairs of the colonies. This body was called the Casa de Contratación, or Indian House, and was organized at Seville in 1503, where a house was especially built for its use. The general purpose of this body was to give the king a rigid monopoly of all colonial trade. It took account of everything pertaining to the economic affairs of the Indies. It granted licenses to those going out to the Indies; it supervised the equipping of ships; gave direction to their load-

The Casa de Contratación, or Indian House

ing and unloading; in short, its officials supervised every detail of the Indies trade. The officers of the Indian House were a president, treasurer, secretary, agent, three judges, and an attorney. Their duties were prescribed to the last detail and they were hedged about with all manner of restrictions. We will have occasion to describe the Indian House more fully in a future chapter.

During the process of settlement and exploration the chief governmental authority in America rested in the hands of a military governor, called the adelantado. In Spain this title was given the military governor of a border province. Columbus was given this title, as well as most of the other founders of colonies in America. After the period of settlement was passed the authority in the colony passed usually to the audiencia, which often performed all the functions of government.

The Earliest Colonial Official; the Adelantado

When fully organized, the heads of the governments in America were the viceroys. In 1574 the Spanish possessions in America were described as consisting of two kingdoms: New Spain, which included Mexico, Central America, and the Islands; and Peru, which included all Spanish territory in South America. These two kingdoms were ruled over by two viceroys, who were the personal representatives of the king, and performed all the royal functions, as though the king were present and reigning in person. The viceroy kept a court modeled after that of Spain; he exercised power of pardon; presided over the audiencia, which acted as his council; kept a record of the distribution of the Indians, and acted as judge in cases where they were involved. His power was checked by the audiencia, which in cases of dispute could refer matters to the Council of the Indies. The viceroy of Peru was considered the most important, and it became common for the Mexican viceroy to be promoted to the Peruvian viceroyalty.

The Viceroy and His Functions

The colonial official ranking next to the viceroy was the captain-general. The functions of the captain-general were similar to those of the viceroy, except that he ruled over a smaller territory. Thus

The Captain-General

Chile became a captaincy-general in 1778, and was practically independent of Peru, though nominally it was still a part of the viceroyalty. Venezuela was created a captaincy-general in 1773 and later Cuba and Guatemala.

Local Government in the Colonies

The governor of the province, the corregidor, came next. The province in turn was divided into partidos, at the head of which were officials called alcalde mayors, who exercised police, military, and judicial functions. In the colonial towns, both Spanish and Indian, there was a considerable degree of self-government, following the example set by towns and cities in Spain. The municipal councils, or the cabildos, generally consisted of six regidores, or aldermen, and two alcaldes, or justices. In many cases the regidores and the alcaldes were elected by the citizens of the towns, though in the course of time these offices became hereditary or were sold to the highest bidder.

The Colonial Audiencias

Besides the divisions into viceroyalties, captaincy-generals, provinces, and districts, the colonies were divided into audiencias. In the course of the seventeenth century there came to be eleven of these in America. "Strictly speaking, an audiencia was a body of magistrates, constituting at once a supreme court and a board of administration for the province; but the designation was applied equally to the area over which its jurisdiction extended." If the audiencia had as its presiding officer a "governor and captain-general," the area over which it had authority bore the name "captaincy-general" or "presidency" as well as "audiencia." If, however, the audiencia "was presided over by a jurist, the area was then termed a 'presidency' in a narrower sense." The number belonging to an audiencia depended upon its position and importance. The Audiencia of Mexico consisted of four oidores, or civil judges; four alcaldes de crimen, or criminal judges; and two prosecuting attorneys. The audiencias acted as councils for the viceroys and captain-generals, and during an interregnum assumed all the functions of executive administration.

In 1786 still another administrative division was made in

the Spanish colonies known as intendencies. At the head of each was an intendent. He directly represented the crown in the financial administration, his chief business being to see that the king got all that was due him from the colonies. He was given a large degree of independence in the management of his office. Intendencies were created because of the corruption of the corregidors, and it was expected that the intendent would bring about reform in the administration.

Intendencies and the Intendent

The Spanish institution known as the residencia was likewise introduced into the colonies. As a colonial institution it provided that all administrative officials should remain in the colony a certain period after their terms of office were over, in order to give all those who had grievances against them a chance to bring charges. A special court was set up, consisting of one or more commissioners, who heard all complaints and forwarded them to the Council of the Indies, where a decision was made.

The Residencia

Portugal never developed a colonial system comparable to that of Spain. Several councils in Lisbon had to do with colonial affairs, though the Council of State exercised the most authority, appointing the officers of high rank for the colonies. At first Brazil was divided into feudal divisions called captaincies, in which the proprietor exercised complete authority. In 1548 a captain-general was appointed who brought the provinces under his authority. In 1763 a viceroy was appointed for Brazil, and Rio de Janeiro was made the seat of his government. Under him were the several captains-general, although they manifested a considerable independence, and did not hesitate to oppose undue interference from the central authority in local affairs.

Portuguese Colonial Administration

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For the student who reads Spanish the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indies* (The Collection of Spanish Colonial Law), 1844, may be studied with profit.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

I. The Trade System

The Spanish colonists not only brought with them their religion and forms of government, but also their economic ideas and practices. And yet the economic ideas entertained by Spain in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were much like those held by other European peoples. The chief difference between Spain and England, in their economic dealings with their colonies, was that Spain was able to carry out her economic program and enforced her restrictive trade laws, while England passed similar laws but was entirely unable to enforce them. As far as intention was concerned, England was little different from Spain. As Bancroft says, "the mercantile restrictive system was the superstition of the age," and was held, not alone by Spain and Portugal, but also by the other colonizing nations of western Europe. The colonies were considered to exist for the benefit of the mother country, and no nation was more successful in carrying out this mistaken idea than Spain.

Spain's Economic Program in Respect to Her Colonies

In the year 1503 there was organized in Seville what was known as the Casa de Contratación, or Indian House. The purpose of this organization has already been explained. When the Indian House was established it was provided that all trade of the Indies was to be confined to the one Spanish port of Seville. That city maintained the monopoly of trade with little interruption down to 1717, when it was removed to Cadiz, because ships no longer could make their way up the Guadalquivir. In the early years, before the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico came to be an important part of the returning cargoes, ships sailed for

The Indian House

the Indies singly. The development of piracy, however, soon caused the Indian House to decree that henceforth ships must sail in fleets. The fleet system was officially established in 1561. Down to 1748 two fleets went annually, one bound for Vera Cruz in New Spain, the other to Porto Bello on the isthmus.

When the fleets arrived at their American destination there was inaugurated at each place a great fair, for the sale and distribution of the goods brought over. The Porto Bello fair was the largest and most important, due to the fact that it was the distributing center for all the Peruvian trade. On the arrival of the Porto Bello fleet those who desired to purchase assembled from all the colonies in South America. Ordinarily, the town was small and extremely unhealthy, and during the forty days of the fair it was crowded far beyond its capacity.

The Fair System as Practiced in the Spanish Colonies

Rooms for living rented at $125 for the fair, while display rooms for goods commanded the exorbitant rent of from $1,000 to $5,000. Food was correspondingly dear, and due to the miserable sanitary conditions and overcrowding, the death rate was extremely high. Similar conditions prevailed at Vera Cruz, where in 1556 four members of an English merchant's family of eight died in ten days. Porto Bello was described during fair time by one who saw the conditions, as an "open grave." This system of distribution raised the price of goods to a tremendous figure. Goods intended for Peru after they were purchased at Porto Bello were loaded on backs of mules and taken across the isthmus. They were then reloaded upon vessels bound down the coast, and after months of toil and danger finally reached their destination, where they sold for from five to six hundred per cent above their original cost.

For a long time the Indian House was the efficient agent in carrying out this rigid system of commercial control. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, changes were taking place which rendered it more and more difficult for Spain to maintain this strict monopoly. By the treaty of Utrecht (1713) England obtained the contract to furnish slaves to the Spanish colonies, and at the same time she obtained the

privilege of sending one ship, of five hundred tons burden, a year to trade at Porto Bello. England took full advantage of this rift in the Spanish trade monopoly and before long was unloading whole fleets over the deck of this one ship. All trade with the southern part of the continent under this system was compelled to pass through Porto Bello and Peru. This was, of course, greatly to the disadvantage of Buenos Ayres. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, Buenos Ayres was becoming a great contraband port. It was not, indeed, until that city became a great smuggling port that it began to prosper and grow. After the English and Dutch established colonies in the West Indies, smuggling likewise became common along the northern coast of South America. The English and Dutch colonists served as centers for this trade. In 1762 the English captured Habana, and that port was opened to English ships and the great possibility of free trade was at once shown. Charles III of Spain, three years later, opened up the trade of the Indies to eight Spanish ports besides Cadiz. In 1778 commerce with the Indies was declared free to all Spanish ports, and Buenos Ayres, Peru, and Chile were allowed to trade directly with Spain.

Breaking Down of the Spanish Trade Monopoly; Contraband Trade

II. Agriculture in the Colonies

"The principal pursuits of Spanish America were farming, grazing, and mining." The romance of the conquest and of the silver fleets did much to give disproportionate prominence to the production of gold and silver in popular accounts of Spanish colonization." The bulkier agricultural products were not raised for exportation, while the products of the mines found their way to Spain in vast quantities. For this reason mining received much more attention in books. Yet by far the largest majority of people in Latin America lived by agricultural pursuits, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the value of the products of the soil has been estimated to have been one third greater than the yield of the mines. When the Spaniards conquered Mexico and Peru they found large populations living

Importance of Agriculture in the Spanish Colonies

mostly by agricultural pursuits. The Aztecs cultivated such products as the banana, cocoa, vanilla bean, used then, as now, for flavoring, Indian corn, and the maguey, from which the Aztecs obtained food, drink, clothing, and writing material. The Peruvians were also an agricultural race and understood both the use of irrigation and fertilizer. They raised potatoes, Indian corn, and cotton.

Cortes recognized the importance of agriculture, and recommended that the crown require all vessels coming to America to bring over a certain quantity of seeds and plants. Every grant of land was made on condition that the proprietor plant a specified number of vines. Other regulations, protecting the agricultural interests of the country, were drawn up by Cortes. Cortes himself gave attention to agriculture when he retired to his estates, where he planted sugar cane, flax, and hemp, built a sugar mill, and imported merino sheep and other cattle.

Early Spanish Agriculture in America

The Spaniards made little advance over the Aztecs and Peruvians in their methods of farming. The sharpened stick, the wooden shovel, the copper hoe, and sickle of the Aztec were no more primitive than the rude plow brought by the Spaniard, and still in use at the close of the eighteenth century. The chief interest in the islands soon came to be the production of sugar. Sugar culture began in Cuba in 1520, the cane being brought from Haiti, but until 1553 none was exported. After this, however, the industry rapidly increased, and by 1775 there were four hundred and seventy-three sugar plantations on the island. As we have already observed, agriculture was, from the first, the most important industry in Brazil.

Humboldt, the celebrated traveler, who visited Spanish America in 1799–1804, has written extensively upon the Spanish colonies. Speaking of agriculture in Mexico, he says, "Harvests are surprising when lands are carefully cultivated, especially in those which are watered." Mexican wheat was of the best quality and in good years the country produced much more Indian corn than the people could consume. Mexico was also rich in vegetables, nutritive roots, and potatoes. Humboldt notes the great number of cattle especially along the

eastern coast. Many Mexican families possessed from thirty to forty thousand head of horses and cattle. Mules were common and would have been much more numerous if so many had not perished through excessive fatigue. The commerce of Vera Cruz alone employed nearly 7,000 annually. The wealth of Venezuela was entirely agricultural or from cattle. In 1880 there were exported from Venezuela 30,000 mules, 174,000 ox-hides, and 3,500,000 pounds of tasjo, or dried meat. Ulloa was much impressed with the agricultural prosperity of Peru. Along the Salto, an irrigated valley, he saw maize, fruits, and vegetables produced in the greatest plenty. Cattle-raising was everywhere an important industry and beef was very cheap. In one instance a herd of six thousand cattle sold for $2.25 a head. Large individual fortunes were not uncommon in Latin America. Thomas Gage, an English friar, speaks of farmers worth from 20,000 to 40,000 ducats, and even Indians worth from 10,000 to 20,000.

Later Agriculture in the Colonies

III. Mining

Stories of the fabulous wealth of America began to be circulated immediately on its discovery, and every Spaniard was on the lookout for treasure. Columbus on his last voyage found the natives of Honduras wearing gold ornaments, and he heard reports of distant realms where gold was to be found in abundance. In the early years, however, very little gold or silver was obtained from the new dominions of Spain; indeed, it was not until the conquest of Mexico that large treasure was discovered. The first gold and silver obtained was in the shape of ornaments and vessels used in the native temples. The ransom of Atahuallpa consisted of plate, temple decorations, golden ears of corn in cases of silver, etc. All of these, except the finest specimens—which were set aside for royal presents—were melted down into ingots of uniform size. The Spaniards made very little improvement on the native mining methods, and the returns from the first mining ventures were not large. The Indians obtained their gold by skimming the surface of the

The First Gold and Silver Found by the Spaniards

ground or washing the sand in the streams. Humboldt says, however, that the Aztecs were versed in the building of subterranean shafts. The natives smelted their ore in a crude manner, using blowpipes of bamboo to increase the heat. In Peru ore was smelted in small round furnaces, fed by charcoal and sheep's excrements.

Early Spanish Mining in the Colonies

The first of the great mines of Mexico were discovered in 1539, among which were Taxco, Sultepec, and Tzumpanco. The rich silver mine of Potosi was found (1545) by an Indian, while clambering up the mountain in pursuit of a llama. At that time it was the richest mine in the world. The discovery of these exceedingly rich mines gave rise to exaggerated reports as to the richness of ores. The number of mines, however, steadily advanced with a corresponding increase of output. The mines were a great source of private wealth and from them the crown obtained great revenue, through the royal fifth. At first only the richest ores were worked, especially in those regions where fuel was scarce, but in 1557 a new method of extracting ores, by the use of quicksilver, was discovered, which rendered ores, formerly considered worthless, valuable. After this discovery Spain made a monopoly of quicksilver, partly for the revenue and partly to keep track of the amount of metal produced. Miners made returns in proportion to the quantity of quicksilver distributed. When mercury deposits were discovered in New Spain, the government extended its monopoly to include these mines also.

Discovery of Rich Mines, and New Mining Methods

In 1800 the mining region of New Spain covered about 12,225 square leagues, according to Humboldt. This was divided into thirty-seven departments with about five hundred subdivisions, or reales de mines, each of which comprised about 3,000 miners. In 1777 a new code of laws governing mines, known as "Ordonanzas de la Mineria de Nueva Espana," was drawn up, which provided for a general council to be made up of representatives from each of the thirty-seven districts. This body was to look after the interests of the mines and miners. Robertson esti-

Mining Laws; Returns from the Mines

nates that the quantity of gold and silver entered annually into the ports of Spain from 1492 to 1850 was about equal to $20,000,000. Humboldt estimates the annual average production from the mines from 1493 as follows:

1493–1500	250,000 pesos
1500–1545	3,000,000 pesos
1545–1600	11,000,000 pesos
1600–1700	16,000,000 pesos
1700–1750	22,500,000 pesos
1750–1803	35,300,000 pesos

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the total annual production has been calculated at 43,500,000 pesos, or about ten times the known production of the rest of the world.

IV. Roads and Travel

"An important difference between the Spanish and English settlers in America is that in the one case the settlers have found or made roads over which they could drag their belongings on carts, or wagons, while in the other case they have been content to carry their outfit on backs of mules and have not insisted that their settlements should be connected with the rest of the world by carriage roads."[1] The chief method of travel in colonial Latin America was by mule back, though in the early years of Spanish colonization Indian carriers were used extensively. Goods were brought to and from the fairs by these two means. The Indian carrier traveled rapidly, bearing a hundred pounds upon his head, while the mule did not carry more than twice that amount. The difficulty of the roads among the mountains was increased by neglect. Ulloa, describing his experience in Peru, says, "If a tree . . . happens to fall across the road and stops up the passage, no person will be at the pains to remove it, and though all passing that way are put to no small difficulty by such an obstacle, it is suffered to continue; neither the government nor those who frequent the road taking any care to have it drawn away." When the

Roads and Travel in Latin America

[1] Bernard Moses, "Economic Conditions of Spain in the Sixteenth Century," American Historical Association Report, 1893, p. 130.

tree is so large as to fill the entire passage, the Indians cut away enough of the trunk to permit the mules to leap over, after being unloaded. This causes delay and perhaps damage to the goods, but no one ever thinks of entirely removing the obstacle. Such cases, he says, are general all over the country, especially where roads lead over mountains and through forests.[1]

Roads in Cuba

The common roads of Cuba were little more than open portions of the country without grading or repairs of any kind. During the rainy season they were impassable, and transportation of sugar for only short distances was very costly. Because of the infrequency of travel in the island there were no hotels or taverns. Humboldt observes that the best roads were found in the western part of the island and as one traveled east the roads became steadily worse.

Wherever possible water transportation was used. Ulloa describes two kinds of boats upon the Chagre in Panama, one being a kind of raft called a chatas, of great breadth and drawing little water, while the other was made from one piece of timber. Negroes were used in propelling these boats. The Indians of Peru had rafts which they propelled with sails, while the Indians about Lake Titicaca made a kind of straw boat for use on the lake. The Paraguay, the Uruguay, and the Parana were convenient highways, not only for small boats, but likewise for ships, as were also the Orinoco, Amazon, and the Magdalena.

Roads and Travel in Mexico

Travel between Vera Cruz and Mexico City, toward the close of the colonial period, was rendered much more convenient and easy because of the construction of an excellent highway over the mountains. This road was lined with taverns and lodging houses supported by the king. Travel was either by mule or a kind of sedan chair, which was carried by the Indians. In 1793 six coaches were placed upon the streets of Mexico, and in the next year the proprietors were granted a concession to open up a stage line between Mexico City and Guadalajara.

[1] Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, Voyages, pp. 273, 274.

The stages were to run weekly and were not to carry more than four passengers. The price for one passenger to Guadalajara was $200; two passengers $105 each, and four were to pay $62.50 each. The return was half price. Between 1803 and 1812 a fine highway was built between Mexico and Vera Cruz at a cost of 3,000,000 pesos.

South American Overland Routes

The most important overland routes in South America were from Buenos Ayres to Santiago de Chile, and from Buenos Ayres to Lima. The fact that no trade could come in or leave by the port of Buenos Ayres compelled the La Plata merchants to resort to Lima for their goods. The distance between Buenos Ayres and Lima is nearly twenty-eight hundred miles, and the usual method of travel over this long road was by slow oxcart carrying about five thousand pounds. After 1748 taverns and post houses were established along the route and carriages might be obtained. Travel over this long trail, however, was always exceedingly expensive and most inconvenient. The route from Buenos Ayres to Santiago was over the pampas until Mendoza was reached, whence the traveler exchanged his carriage for a mule. In the trip to Lima the carriage was left at Salta, where the traveler mounted a mule to make his way over the mountains.[1]

V. Labor and Slaves

Encomienda and Mita

Labor in colonial Latin America was performed by the Indians and Negro slaves. At first the Spaniards depended upon the Indians to work their plantations and mines. This, however, proved extremely destructive of Indian life. The encomienda system, whereby colonists were granted Indians to cultivate the land, became universal throughout Latin America. The mita was a bodily service demanded of the Indians. The Indian population was divided into seven parts and every mine owner had the right to demand from the district the number of Indians he required. Every male had to render this service, which lasted six months. At the end of that time, if the Indian survived, he

[1] Bernard Moses, The Spanish Dependencies in South America, vol. ii, pp. 382–395.

had accumulated a debt to the proprietor which he could not pay, and as a result he remained in perpetual servitude. So destructive of life was the mita that the calling out of an Indian for this service was considered equivalent to a sentence of death, and before setting out he disposed of his belongings, and his relatives went through the funeral service before him. It has been estimated that in Peru alone, in the course of three hundred years, the mita claimed eight million victims. The Indians working under this system received about ten cents a day. In Peru and Quito the mita system was extended to the farms and factories, and here the Indians were reduced to practical slavery. They were underfed, overworked, and in every way mistreated. The workers in the royal tobacco factories in Mexico received about thirty cents a day, while a laborer in Venezuela received fifteen sous a day, besides his food.

Indian Labor

Negro slaves were early introduced into the islands. We have records of Negroes being sent to Haiti as early as 1502, while in 1510 Ferdinand directed the Indian House to send over fifty slaves. Soon traffic in slaves between the Guinea coast and America was under way. The Spaniards found the Negro much more efficient than the Indian and the demand for them greatly increased. Las Casas, the apostle to the Indians, favored the use of Negroes, and finally succeeded in persuading the government to protect the Indians by sending out four thousand Negroes. This was the beginning of a settled policy. The government supplied the slaves to her colonies by letting a contract, called the asiento, by which a certain number of slaves were to be supplied yearly. This contract was held by various holders, and finally, by the treaty of Utrecht (1713), came into the possession of the English government. During much of the time previous to this it had been held by Portuguese. The contract was immensely profitable and the holders were willing to pay great sums to the Spanish government for the privileges it gave. Besides this legitimate slave trade there grew up an illicit trade in slaves, begun by John Hawkins in 1562, which brought to Spanish

Negro Slaves and the Slave Trade

America several hundreds and even thousands of slaves each year.

Negro slavery, however, never obtained a great hold upon Latin America outside the islands, the northern coast regions of South America, and Brazil. Indians continued to perform much of the work in New Spain, and in the census of 1793 only six thousand slaves were returned. Peru had many more Negroes than Mexico. At the end of the eighteenth century there were nearly a hundred thousand free Negroes and slaves in Peru. As a whole the Spaniards were mild masters, and the Spanish slave code was much less severe than that of either the French or the English. In Peru the law allowed a slave to work for himself several hours each day. He had the right to appeal to the courts if cruelly treated and might there be declared free. Negroes might question the legality of their enslavement, and the courts were ready to hear their cause; in fact, Spanish law and administration favored emancipation wherever possible. In consequence of this liberal and humane treatment the number of free Negroes tended to rapidly increase. The slave population of Cuba, Haiti, and Jamaica was large. In 1823 Humboldt gives the total population of Cuba at 715,000, of whom 260,000 were slaves and 130,000 free Negroes; at the same time Jamaica had a total population of 402,000, with 342,000 slaves, 35,000 free Negroes, and only about 25,000 whites. An adult male slave in Cuba at the end of the eighteenth century was worth from $450 to $500; a newly imported African from $370 to $400. The cost of keeping a Negro slave in Cuba was from $45 to $50 a year, or about twenty-five cents a day.

Number and Treatment of Negro Slaves

VI. Taxes, Imposts, and Revenue

To the North American, familiar with the colonial history of the thirteen English colonies, the number and amount of taxes collected by Spain from her American possessions seems unbelievable. Perhaps the greatest contrast between the colonies of England and those of Spain lies here. England obtained no direct revenue from her colonies, and even the famous Stamp Act, which was the immediate cause of the Revolution,

was not intended to produce revenue for England. Rather, the Stamp Act was passed to help pay the expenses of maintaining English soldiers in America, whom England placed there for America's protection. On the other hand, Spain obtained vast financial returns from her American possessions, and at the close of the eighteenth century she was utilizing every possible resource for obtaining increased revenue. "No possible opportunity of drawing wealth into the royal exchequer was thrown away; luxuries, industries, and vices were alike made to contribute their quota. By the end of the eighteenth century there were more than sixty sources from which revenue was obtained."[1]

English and Spanish Colonies Contrasted in Respect to Taxes

For the first few years of the colonial period the principal source of revenue was Indian tribute. The Indians who had made war upon the Spaniards were the first made to pay this tax. Later, when Montezuma became the vassal of the king of Spain, he sent valuable presents to Charles V, and soon after the capture of Mexico an order was issued requiring the Indians to pay a regular sum into the royal treasury. At first this tax amounted to one third of all produce, or an equivalent in the precious metals. This was far too heavy to be borne and was steadily reduced, and finally abolished in 1810. This tax, however, through most of the colonial period, was a very important source of revenue, and in 1504 a general officer was appointed to manage its collection. Another of the earliest taxes imposed was the royal fifth. This was established in 1504 and required that all products of mines—gold, silver, quicksilver, tin—as well as all treasure, or treasure trove, was to pay a royal tax of one fifth. In 1528 an inspector of mines was appointed for Mexico, part of whose duty was to collect this tax. In some instances it was found to be discouraging to mines and was reduced to one tenth in 1572, and toward the close of the eighteenth century it was still further reduced to three per cent on gold and eleven per cent on silver.

Indian Tribute and the Royal Fifth

[1] H. H. Bancroft, Mexico, vol. iii, pp. 655ff.

The most profitable of all taxes was the alcavala. This was a tax on sales, which had been known in Spain since the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1568 Philip II decided to introduce the tax into the Indies, though it was not actually collected in Mexico until 1574 and in Peru in 1591. In 1588 it was imposed upon the Indians. This was a very burdensome tax. The smallest articles and the commonest necessities of life, as they passed from one owner to another, were taxed over and over again. On property like land, which sold but seldom, it was not burdensome, but upon small articles of merchandise which changed hands frequently, the tax soon absorbed the value of the article. At first the tax was two per cent, but later it was doubled and trebled.

The Alcavala

Another fruitful source of revenue was the maritime dues, or import and export duties. The import duty on cotton and woolen goods and articles of food was 35½ per cent; on linen and silk articles, 29½. Some articles paid fixed duties, such as flour, which paid $2 per barrel if shipped from Spain, and $10.75 if from a foreign port. Export duties were imposed arbitrarily without any regard to the value of goods. Coffee paid 20 cents a quintal; sugar, 87½ cents a box; and cigars 75 cents per thousand. Besides tonnage duties were collected; Spanish vessels paid 62½ cents per ton; foreign vessels, $1.50 per ton.

Import and Export Duties

Besides the three great internal taxes, Indian tributes, the royal fifth and the alcavala, there were many others. For every head of beef butchered $3.50 was paid; for every sheep and goat, 37½ cents; for every arroba of swine, 31¼ cents. Paper for common use was divided into six classes, the taxes on each sheet ranging from $8 to five cents. Stamps were used on bills of exchange and notes. Judges collected fees; a tax of four per cent was levied on cost of judicial proceedings; an impost was levied on shops and stores; in short, every possible source of revenue was exploited.

Other Internal Taxes

Monopolies conducted by the crown were still another source of royal income. Quicksilver was the first of such monopolies.

No sooner was the new process of obtaining metals from ores, by means of quicksilver, discovered, than the crown seized the opportunity of increasing the means of revenue. Gunpowder was another monopoly held by the government. At first the monopoly was sold to the Ortega family, but in 1776 the government took it over. A monopoly on salt was established in 1580. Tobacco was the most productive of the royal monopolies, and tobacco production was prohibited except under contract with the government, and all tobacco factories were directly under government management. Other government monopolies were ice, playing cards, and cock pits. In 1769 a government lottery was established and the profits from this source alone in 1798 were $109,255. Pulque, the native drink, paid a heavy tax, as did also other liquors.

Royal Monopolies

The church was also made to contribute her quota to the royal income. The chief revenue from this source was from the "Bull of Cruzado." This, as described by Robertson, "contained an absolution from past offenses by the pope, and among other things a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during Lent and other fast days." The bulls were very widely sold, the monks extolling their virtues "with all the fervor of interested eloquence, and were purchased by every class of society. The price varied according to the rank of the purchaser. The bull was first published in Spain in 1533. They were divided into two classes, bulas de vivos, dispensations for the living, and bulas de difuntos, which friends and relatives purchased for deceased persons. In New Spain during one sale 2,649,325 bulls were sold, and the same year 1,172,953 were sold in Peru. Church tithes were also another source of revenue for the king. In 1501 the pope granted the king of Spain the right of collecting church tithes in the Indies. At first the tithes were devoted entirely to the church, but later part of these dues found their ways into the royal treasury." "Everything from silk and cocoa, to lentils and pot herbs," paid the church tithe, all of which, we must remember, was in addition to the other taxes imposed.

Revenues from the Church

And even yet the list is not complete. There was a tax on slaves imported; offices were sold to the highest bidder; many nonsalaried administrative officials collected fees for their services, as did also nonsalaried judicial officials. At every turn the Spanish colonist met taxes and exactions.

Other Exactions

To guard the royal revenue the strictest laws were enacted to govern the revenue officials. Treasury officials could not engage in commercial enterprises nor work mines. Certain offices, such as that of corregidor and alcalde mayor, were closed against them, nor could they hold Indians in encomienda. The safe where the royal money was kept had three locks, each with a separate key, and each of the three chiefs of the department held a key, so that the safe could not be unlocked unless all three were present. And even the office door where the safe was kept had similar locks. Other provisions, prescribing most minutely the duties of the treasury officials, limiting the action of their sons and daughters, were enacted. And yet all these regulations did not keep out corruption nor guard sufficiently the king's revenue.

Royal Treasury Officials

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CHAPTER X

SOCIETY IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

No adequate comprehension of Spanish colonial society, nor, indeed, of Latin-American society of to-day, can be obtained unless we first understand the relationship of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors with the Indians. We of North America are quite apt to conclude at once, without a very careful investigation, that the Spaniard especially was much more cruel in his dealings with the Indians than were our forefathers.

Spanish Treatment of the Indians

We are sure, however, that an impartial student will, upon close study, come to the conclusion that the Spaniard was no worse in this respect than the Englishman. This conclusion, however, does not relieve the Spaniard of just criticism. Just as the Spaniard transferred his political institutions to America, so also he brought over his religion, his ideas and ideals. The early Spanish conquerors were soldiers, and the long wars with the Moors, and the presence of the Jews, had bred into the Spanish character strong religious fanaticism. The Spanish Inquisition had accustomed him to the public burnings of heretics, and when he came in contact with the Indians of America he treated them as he had seen so-called heretics in Spain treated.

Columbus, finding Indians on the island, thought they would make good servants. On his return to Spain, however, he was instructed by the monarchs to deal kindly with the natives. In spite of this admonition Columbus captured six hundred Indians and sent them to Spain as slaves. This action was quickly repudiated by the queen especially, who promptly ordered them sent back. Later Columbus began a policy of levying tribute upon the natives, and those who could not pay were compelled to work. Under the successors of Columbus the enslavement of the Indians, under the system of encomienda, was carried much farther, and was soon extended to all the

The Beginning of the Encomienda System

islands. From the islands it was brought to the mainland. The encomienda has been defined as "a right, conceded by royal bounty to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to them, with the charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters, and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where these encomiendas should be granted to them." The system of encomienda was not slavery, since individual Indians might not be bought and sold, but the system corresponded more nearly to mediæval serfdom.

The Spanish monarchs were kindly disposed toward the Indians, and especially was this true of Isabella. She gave definite instruction to Ovando not to enslave the Indians. After the death of the good queen, Ferdinand relaxed more and more in his opposition to enslavement of the Indians, and when pressed by suitors for favors he gave them Indians. Some of the recipients of these gifts came to America, while others became absentee proprietors, and farmed out their Indians. In 1512 Ferdinand issued an ordinance forbidding anyone in the Indies holding more than three hundred Indians. This ordinance also laid down certain regulations in respect to their treatment. The settlers were to use gentle means in getting the natives to come willingly; large huts were to be provided for every fifty Indians; and a certain amount of land for the growing of food should be set apart for each fifty; when working in mines the Indians were required to work five months at a time, when they were to enjoy a period of rest of forty days, during which time they might cultivate land on their own account. In 1523 the crown forbade the granting of repartimientos in Mexico, though this order was later withdrawn. By 1532 the system was extended to Peru by Pizarro. In 1536 a law was promulgated granting Indians in encomienda for two lives. In the meanwhile Las Casas had been at work in the Indian's behalf. He had labored successfully in behalf of the conversion of the Indians, and had preached incessantly in favor of their liberation. In his celebrated book, The De-

Treatment of the Indians During the Early Period

struction of the Indies, he had argued powerfully for liberation. Finally, his long labors were successful in securing the adoption of what were known as the "New Laws." These laws provided that after the death of the conquerors the repartimientos of Indians, given to them in encomienda, were not to pass to their heirs, but were to go to the king. Personal service of Indians was to be entirely abolished, although the encomiendros was to retain the right to a moderate tribute.

The net result of these "New Laws" was that they failed of execution, and the settlers continued to hold their Indians. The attempted execution of the New Laws in Peru caused a rebellion of the settlers, while in Mexico the inhabitants on learning of them resolved to clothe themselves in mourning. When the official sent to carry out the laws arrived he was immediately met with petitions and remonstrances against their publication. In spite of these remonstrances the laws were published in March, 1544, and a revolt was threatened.

The Enforcement of the "New Laws"

Rebellion, however, was allayed by the bishop calling a meeting at the cathedral, the clergy as a whole not being in favor of the laws, as they themselves held encomiendras. Finally, the next year a royal decree was issued revoking the laws. The system of encomienda continued until 1700, when it was abolished, though its effects are plainly visible to the present day. Whatever may be said of the cruelties practiced by the Spanish colonists upon the Indians, this much must be said for the Spanish government: it did all in its power to protect the Indians, and "the Indian legislation of the Spanish kings is an impressive monument of benevolent intentions which need not fear comparison with the contemporary legislation of any European country affecting the status of the working classes" (Bourne, p. 256).

Just before the middle of the eighteenth century two Spaniards, George Juan and Antonio Ulloa, visited South America, and resided for some years in Peru and Ecuador. On the king's command they wrote an account of their observations as to the treatment of the Indians. The report, known as Noticias Secretas de America, is a damning arraignment of the Spanish

colonial officials and of the colonists. The report shows that the corregidors, who were charged with the collection of the Indian tribute, greatly abused their office, for their own enrichment. Certain classes of Indians were legally exempt from paying tribute, but the corregidor paid no heed to these exemptions, and collected from every Indian, and kept all he could collect over and above what was required by law. The corregidor exercised almost absolute power in his district and the Indians had no redress. Another means of exploitation employed by this official was through his sale of goods to the natives. This was originally intended as a benefit, but as used by the corregidors was an unmitigated curse. Instead of consulting the Indian's needs, he bought those articles which he could obtain cheaply and on credit, and then proceeded to distribute them among the Indians according to their ability to pay. For instance, one corregidor bought a supply of spectacles, and required that every Indian wear them when he went to mass; silk stockings were distributed among barefooted Indians; meat of dead animals, unfit to eat, was parceled out among the natives, for which they were charged exorbitant prices.

The Secret Report of George Juan and Antonio Ulloa

Exploitation of the Natives by the Corregidor

On the estates the Indians worked three hundred days in the year, and received $18; of this sum $8 was taken for tribute money. In the cotton factories the native workers were locked in at the beginning of the day, and were required to do a certain amount of work; if not completed at the close of the day, they were cruelly flogged. The priests seemed to work hand in hand with the corregidor and others to despoil the Indians. The poor natives were charged for every service performed by the church. One curate in the province of Quito reported that "he collected every year more than 200 sheep, 5,000 hens and chickens, 4,000 guinea pigs, 50,000 eggs," and this curacy, we are reminded, was not one of the most lucrative. The monks who held curacies carried oppression to its utmost bounds. The monk generally had an Indian concubine, under whose charge were all the women and chil-

Indian Wages

The Church and the Indians

dren of the parish, whom she exploited by converting all the village into a manufactory for her profit. Altogether the Ulloa report gives an exceedingly dark picture of conditions prevailing among the Indians, which we are compelled to believe because of the official standing and loyalty to the church of the men who made it.

The Spaniards, because of their contact with the Mohammedan life in Spain, had become very tolerant of irregular relations of the sexes. Plural marriages were recognized by the laws, and among the clergy celibacy was more an ideal than a fact. Concubinage was common among both priests and monks, while among the laity the marriage bond was lightly borne both by husbands and wives. Life in America did not improve the Spaniard's morals, but tended, rather, to accentuate the condition prevalent in Spain. The early Spanish conquerors came to America without their women, and they seem to have possessed no moral or racial feeling against mingling their blood with that of the natives. When Ovando came to Hispaniola he found practically all the Spaniards had taken Indian women as concubines. The Franciscan monks protested against this condition, and the governor ordered that the Spaniards should either marry these women or separate from them. Ferdinand made an attempt to send out white women to be the wives of the settlers, but this expedient proved inadequate, and two years later a royal ordinance was issued legalizing marriage between the natives and the Spaniards. Many of the conquistadores had wives in Spain, and Governor Ovando attempted to send those having wives back to Spain, but later married men were not allowed to come out to the Indies without their wives.

Intermarriage of Natives with Spaniards

As we have already seen, Irala, while governor of Asunción, allowed the practice of polygamy, Irala himself espousing the seven daughters of the principal chief. On his death he asked, in his will, that the children by these wives be considered as Spaniards. White women were extremely rare in Chile, and we are told that every Spanish trooper was attended by from four to six native women. The long wars with the warlike

Araucanians had killed off the native men, and the ratio of soldiers to native women in the frontier garrisons was one to four. In a single week in 1580 sixty illegitimate children were born in a post where there were a hundred and sixty soldiers. Married men kept concubines in great numbers, and Aguirre, one of the conquistadores, left on his death fifty illegitimate sons, to say nothing of daughters. In 1776 it was estimated that in Santiago women were ten times as numerous as men, while Humboldt, in 1803, estimates that only one tenth of the European-born Spaniards in Mexico were women. Out of such free mixing of the races a great variety of types naturally came.

Examples of Race Mixture

At the top of the social scale stood the European-born Spaniard, or the chapetone. This class contained the great landholders and the important officers in church and state. After the chapetone came the creole, or the American-born Spaniard. The creole, like the chapetone, was a pure white, many of them being the descendants of the conquerors, and in many cases they also held large estates. They were deprived of the offices in both church and state, which was the cause of a growing friction between the two white classes. Ranking third was the mestizo, the race resulting from the mingling of the blood of the natives with that of the Spaniards. In some instances they were almost on a level with the creole, and held considerable property, but more often they were artisans. Distinctly lower than the mestizo was the mulatto, of white and Negro parentage. He performed the coarser labor, though at the time of the revolutions some of this class had attained honorable positions. We have already treated the Indian at some length, his social status being that of an enforced laborer. At the foot of the social ladder were the Negroes, and the mixture of the Negro and the Indian, the zambo. At first Negroes had been brought over as slaves, but they were never numerous, outside the islands, and the northern part of South America, and in Brazil. In the other parts of the country they were to be found about the ports. Many succeeded in gaining their freedom, and when

Social Classes

free they often rose above the Indians in the social scale. The Indians were morose and sullen. A spirit of jealousy prevailed among the various social classes. This social discontent, however, was looked upon with favor by the government, considering it an element of safety, and therefore no effort was made to allay it.

The Church as an Element in Latin American Society

By far the most important social organization in Latin America was the church. The religious motive had always been a dominant one among the Spanish conquistadores and the work of converting the Indians to Christianity was not only undertaken by the church, but this worthy work was seconded by civil power. The church in the Spanish dependencies was always dependent upon the Spanish crown. "No church, monastery, or hospital could be erected except in accordance with the king's ordinances," while a goodly proportion of the revenues of the church found its way into the royal treasury.

The Church an Important Social Institution

The three orders, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican, were active in the early years of colonization and the powerful Jesuit Society after the middle of the sixteenth century. Members of the order became prominent in the work of propagating Christianity in the New World. There were three distinct types of work carried on by the church in America. First was the work in the Spanish towns, in charge of a cura or priest, which was a work similar to the work of a parish priest in Spain; second, the work in the Indian villages, which was in charge of two or more friars or of a cura; third, the work carried on among the wild Indians by the missionaries. The missionaries gathered the Indians into villages, where they were taught the elements of civilization and Christianity. When the work of the missionary was completed he moved on and the village became a "pueblo de Indios," and a doctrinal curate was placed in charge.

Types of Work Carried on by the Church in Latin America

Although the church in America was directly under the control of the Spanish crown, exercised through the Council of

the Indies, yet this control did not hinder it from becoming extremely wealthy. There is evidence, however, that the king of Spain did not favor the accumulation of property in the hands of the church. Toward the close of the eighteenth century a large proportion of the property in the city of Lima was in the hands of the church, including four Dominican monasteries, three Franciscan, three Augustinian, with eleven others of various orders. Besides there were fourteen convents for nuns; five houses for pious women, in addition to hospitals and other institutions devoted to charitable or religious purposes. There was a numerous priesthood, with bishops and archbishops. In Mexico about 1800 there were some 14,000 clergy, eight bishops, and one archbishop, with a total value of property amounting to some $75,000,000. In South America there were some 20 bishoprics. When the Jesuits were expelled from Spanish America in 1767 there were in Mexico 23 Jesuit colleges, 8 convents, 5 residences, 103 missions, with 122,000 neophytes.

Church Property in the Colonies

The Inquisition was introduced into the colonies in the later sixteenth century. The Indians, however, were never brought under its jurisdiction. The actual number condemned and executed by this tribunal in the colonies was comparatively few; not more than a hundred in Peru and Mexico in two hundred and seventy-six years. In Peru there were twenty-nine "autos da fe," or burnings. The first one took place in 1581 and the last in 1776. The chief work of the Inquisition in America was the condemning of books. The number of books expurgated or prohibited included the works of five thousand four hundred and twenty authors, which included the names of the greatest thinkers of the eighteenth century.

The Inquisition

Education

The work of education was likewise in the hands of the church, and was based on dogma and discipline. It was conducted entirely for the interests of a small class; no such thing as popular education was thinkable. The great mass of the

population received no training except such as was given in the public exercises of the church. Indians and half-breeds in some instances received rudimentary teaching at the mission schools. The Franciscans built schools beside their churches, where Indians were taught the three "R's." A great school for Indian boys was established in Mexico, where a thousand could be accommodated. Jesuits established a number of schools of secondary grade. Some of the wealthier families sent their children to Spain for their education, though this practice was far from being universal.

Primary Education

Twelve universities were founded in Latin America during the colonial period, eight of them before the creation of Harvard. In 1551 the Universities of Mexico and Saint Mark in Lima were founded by Charles V, while in 1614 the Jesuits founded a university at Cordoba. In the early eighteenth century the University of Saint Mark had nearly two thousand students and some hundred and eight instructors. Instruction was offered in theology, civil and canon law, medicine, and the arts. As a whole the number of schools and colleges founded by the Spaniards in their colonies, and the range of studies pursued, were superior to anything in English North America during the same period.

Universities

The attainment of scholarship in the Spanish colonies was also considerable. Much good work was done in medicine and surgery. The native languages were reduced to written forms and dictionaries and grammars prepared. The bulk of the books published by colonial authors were upon religious subjects, written by ecclesiastics. The colonial period was rich in historical productions, among them being Duran's Historia de las Indias de Nueva Espana and Acosta's Natural and Civil History of the Indies; and Bernal Diaz, History of the Conquest of New Spain.

Spanish Colonial Scholarship

A type of literature which became quite common during the colonial period was the heroic poem. The first and most famous of these is "La Araucana," written by Zuniga, based

upon his personal experiences in Chile. This poem, though written and published in Spain in 1569–1572, served as the model of many others of like nature. The deeds of Cortes were described in a long poem by Antonio de Saavedra, while the conquest of Peru served as the theme of other long poems. The longest poem in any language was one describing the whole of Spanish endeavors, by Juan de Castellanos. In the seventeenth century Mexico produced a real poetical genius in the person of Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, a woman whose collected literary works fill three volumes. The eighteenth century was sterile as far as the production of literature was concerned, but taken as a whole the colonial period in Latin America was much more fruitful, in a literary sense, than was the colonial period of the English colonies.

Spanish Colonial Literature

The first news sheet which appeared in the Spanish colonies was in 1594 at Lima, while in 1620 occasional sheets began to be issued in Mexico. A real newspaper, however, did not appear in the Spanish colonies until 1722, when a little sheet, miserably printed, on poor paper, began to appear in Mexico. By 1810 five provinces, besides Mexico and Peru, had newspapers. There was no newspaper in Chile until 1812, though Bogota boasted of a paper as early as 1791.

Newspapers

Brazil lagged considerably behind the Spanish colonies both in education, literature, and scholarship. There were some schools conducted by the monks in the towns, and a few Jesuit "colleges," though there were no universities and no newspapers until 1808.

Population

At the close of the eighteenth century the population of Latin America was nearly 19,000,000. Mexico contained something near 6,000,000; New Granada, 1,500,000; Venezuela, 800,000; Chile, 800,000; La Plata, 1,000,000; Peru, perhaps 3,000,000 to 5,000,000; and Brazil perhaps 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. About half the population of La Plata were Indians, while in Mexico there were nearly 3,000,000 Indians, 2,000,000 half-breeds, 364,742 European-born whites, and 582,000 Creoles.

The four largest towns in Spanish America at the end of the eighteenth century were Mexico City, with some 137,000 people; Quito, with 70,000; Buenos Ayres, with 60,000; and Lima, with 54,000.

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CHAPTER XI

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF SPANISH RULE IN AMERICA

In this chapter it is intended to summarize the chief events in the political history of Spanish rule in America, from the period of colonization to the end of the eighteenth century. This story covers more than two hundred years, and yet it is possible to treat it in one chapter, because the Spanish governmental system, once established, remained in operation, with little change, to the end of the Spanish colonial empire. One viceroy succeeded another, with little or no interruption in the orderly affairs of government. We have already discussed the administrative system established by Spain in her colonies, and it only remains for us, in this chapter, to pass in rapid review the chief political events in the conduct of that well-organized system.

New Spain

During the colonial period, from 1535 to 1822, there were sixty-four viceroys who ruled in Mexico. Of these sixty-four chief officials a few were ecclesiastics, two held office for two terms, while only two or three were natives of Mexico. As a whole Mexico was well governed during all the three hundred years of Spain's colonial rule. Even during the period when the home government was becoming weaker and weaker the government of Mexico was becoming more firmly established. The viceroy of New Spain ruled over a vast territory, including what are now the Central American states, and the territory stretching northward, including Texas, and eventually as far as Vancouver Island.

The Viceroyalty of New Spain

The first of the Mexican viceroys was Antonio de Mendoza, who arrived in America in the fall of 1535. He had been appointed by Charles V, and was a man of high character and

a keen sense of justice. During his administration, which lasted fifteen years, he encouraged education and the founding of schools, and as a whole the country prospered. During his administration the attempt was made to suppress the encomienda system, which led to considerable disturbance. Several new towns were founded and several distant tribes of Indians were pacified. In 1550 Mendoza left Mexico for a similar post in Peru, and he was succeeded by Luis de Velasco. Under this administration there was a threatened uprising to make Cortes king of New Spain. This insurrection, however, was soon suppressed with great severity.

Early Viceroys

Toward the close of the sixteenth century the problem of protecting the treasure fleets from the European enemies of Spain became pressing. In 1568 the English captain John Hawkins had captured San Juan de Ulua, and four years later Drake plundered along the coast of the Mexican gulf, and in 1578 made his most famous voyage around South America and up the Pacific Coast, plundering and burning as he went. In 1586 he burned Saint Augustine, Florida. The Dutch also were active in the work of plundering. They hovered off the Gulf coast with their fleets, damaging towns and taking treasure ships. The French likewise took a hand at plundering, and it became necessary to send warships to convoy the treasure fleets of Spain. In 1635 the English captured the island of Jamaica and thereafter the danger to Spanish convoys was much increased. During all of the seventeenth century the ports of Yucatan and Central America were frequently raided. In 1683 even Vera Cruz was captured and was held for ten days. The treaty of Utrecht (1713), which gave the English the right of sending a ship of five hundred tons burden to trade with Spanish colonies, greatly facilitated smuggling.

The English, Dutch, and French Buccaneers

The chief event of the eighteenth century, in the history of New Spain, was the expulsion of the Jesuits. This was accomplished by an order issued by King Charles III, expelling them from all of his dominions. The Jesuits had come to Mexico in 1572, and during the two hundred years of their

labor in America had done much to civilize the natives and educate the whites. The members of the order were arrested en masse on the night of June 26, their goods sequestrated, and they themselves deported to Habana, from whence they were taken to Cadiz. The work which they had carried on was in a large measure taken over by the Franciscans and Dominicans, who pushed on into upper California. They founded many towns, such as San Carlos, San Antonio, San Gabriel, in which the mission stations were made the centers of interest. The expulsion of the Jesuits was much resented by the Creoles and was an added cause for their discontent.

Expulsion of the Jesuits

Toward the close of the eighteenth century the minor officials, especially the corregidores, and the alcaldes, had become very corrupt, and an attempt was made to devise reforms. In 1786, in order to bring about better government, the country was divided into intendencies, twelve in number, whose officials were made directly subject to the viceroy. Among the best of the later viceroys was Revillagigedo (1789–1794), a progressive ruler, who did much to improve the administration and increase commerce. In this administration the first census of New Spain was taken.

Reforms in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century

The Viceroyalty of Peru

After the period of turbulence which marked the downfall of the last of the Pizarros in Peru, Antonio de Mendoza, who had already served a successful term as viceroy at Mexico, became viceroy at Lima. He arrived in Peru in 1551, but died the next year. Peru was filled with adventurers, and rebellion in the early years was never far away. Bernard Moses estimates that at the close of the civil wars in Peru there were eight thousand Spaniards, of whom four hundred and eighty-nine held grants of land and Indians, and about one thousand others occupied official positions or occupied estates; but the whole Spanish population desired to live without labor (Bernard Moses, Establishment of Spanish Rule in America, 134). It

Early Viceroys in Peru

was with difficulty that the king of Spain succeeded in getting anyone to accept the post of viceroy after the death of Antonio Mendoza, but finally succeeded in inducing Hurtado de Mendoza to accept the difficult post. Hurtado ruled with an iron hand for six years. The disturbing elements in the colony were either sent out of the country or executed. He also did much toward pacifying the Indians, seeing that they had good priests appointed in their villages, and promoted the foundation of schools.

Perhaps the most conspicuous of the early viceroys of Peru was Don Francisco de Toledo, who was the fifth to hold that office, entering Peru in 1569 and ruling with success for thirteen years. He gave a minute inspection to every province within the country, after which he established the system of local government which prevailed in Peru for two hundred years. The provisions relating to local government are contained in the Libro de Tasas. According to these regulations, the territory was divided into districts called corregimientos, over which was placed the corregidor; municipal government was definitely established, fixing the duties of the several officers, and also regulating trade. The code also dealt with the Indians. It determined the amount of tribute to be paid by them, and the amount of service they were to render. In addition to the tribute, according to these regulations, the Indians were also to render personal service in the mines, manufactories, and on the farms, which was known as the mita. A priest was to be placed in each village, who was to teach the Indians the doctrines of Christianity and all traces of the old religion were to be destroyed. Among the noted accomplishments by this famous viceroy was the murder, entirely unprovoked, of the last of the Incas. This occurred in 1571, when the young Inca prince, Tupac Amaru, was seized and beheaded in the square at Cuzco.

The Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, 1569–1581

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the political affairs of Peru had fallen into a settled order, and viceroys followed one another without disturbance. From 1543, when the first of the Peruvian rulers took up his duties, to 1801,

thirty-five viceroys ruled in Peru. During the early period most of the viceroys had belonged to the great houses of Spain, but following the reign of Philip II to the early years of the eighteenth century, a different class were sent out. The later viceroys, especially after the Bourbon kings came to the Spanish throne, were more practical men, such as Don Manuel Amat and Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, the latter having been a successful governor-general of Chile. The average term of office for the viceroys of Peru was seven and a half years.

Later Viceroys

Until the establishment of the viceroyalties of New Granada and Buenos Ayres, the jurisdiction of the Peruvian viceroy extended over all the Spanish possessions in South America. The captain-generals of Venezuela and of Chile were subject to the authority of the viceroy at Lima, but for every practical purpose these far-distant provinces were independent of his authority.

The outstanding event in Peru in the latter eighteenth century was the great Indian revolt under the leadership of Tupac Amaru, the descendant of the Inca of that name, whom Francisco de Toledo had put to death over two hundred years before in the square of the ancient Inca capital. Tupac Amaru was a well-educated Indian, and had been recognized by the Spanish authorities as the descendant of the Incas. He was cacique of a district near Cuzco, and did everything in his power to ameliorate the deplorable condition of his people. For years he exerted himself to redress the wrongs of the Indians, talking to priests and officials in their behalf, but it was all to no avail. The evils went on, especially those practiced by the corregidores, the nature of which we have already described. One of the most merciless of these corregidores was the one at Tinta, and Tupac Amaru determined to begin his revolt by punishing this corregidor. This was successfully accomplished, and the corregidor of Tinta was arrested and executed in November, 1780. This act was the signal for the gathering of the Indians to Tupac's banner, and they arose as one man around him. Tupac then advanced toward Cuzco, where in the early part of 1781 an indecisive battle was fought.

Tupac Amaru

The whole of central Peru was now in revolt, and the Spanish officials began to be greatly alarmed, and every effort was made to gather troops at Lima. The viceroy of Peru sent a military force, as did also the viceroy at Buenos Ayres, for the Indians about La Paz were also in revolt. Finally, a force of fifteen thousand men, made up of Spanish regulars, mulatto troops, and Indians, was gathered at Cuzco to meet the revolting Inca.

The Overthrow and Capture of Tupac Amaru

At this juncture Tupac Amaru wrote to Areche, the official sent from Lima, proposing to arbitrate, but the answer of this official was a brutal refusal to enter into negotiations, and promising the most horrible vengeance upon the Inca. There was nothing left now for Tupac but to fight to the bitter end. In March the Inca took up his position near the village of Checacape, where a battle was fought, which proved disastrous to the Inca's forces. Tupac Amaru fled with his family, hoping to rally his army. He was betrayed, however, by one of his officers and delivered into the hands of the Spaniards, who took him to Cuzco to await his awful fate. The Spanish general hung sixty-seven Indians at Tinta, stuck their heads on poles, and placed them beside the roadway as a warning to the revolting Indians.

The Spanish officials now proceeded to carry out the cruel sentence upon the Inca and his family. On May 15, 1781, the sentence was published. The Inca was to have his tongue cut out; then was to be torn to pieces by horses attached to his limbs and driven in different directions; then his body was to be burnt, and his head and limbs stuck upon poles, to be set up in different towns which had been loyal to his cause. This horrible sentence was literally carried out on May 18, while the family of the Inca was compelled to witness the terrible scene. This event, however, did not stop the revolt, for fighting continued for many months under the command of Diego Tupac Amaru, the Inca's cousin. The town of Sorata was besieged by the Indians, and finally taken by an ingenious plan of the Indian commander, who turned the waters of a mountain stream against the earthworks protecting the town. The inhabitants

The Execution of Tupac Amaru

of Sorata were massacred, the clergy alone being allowed to escape. La Paz was besieged for one hundred and nine days by 40,000 Indians, but was finally relieved by General Flores, with troops from Buenos Ayres, only to be besieged again from August to October. Diego Tupac Amaru finally, on promise of pardon by the Spanish officials, disbanded his forces and returned to his home. But no sooner was this done than the perfidious officials broke their promises, and Diego and all his relatives were put to death, and an effort was made to exterminate every vestige of the Inca lineage. Altogether this revolt cost the lives of eighty thousand victims.

But the revolt and the death of the Inca was not in vain. The viceroy of Peru was called upon for a report as to the causes of the revolt, and he replied by laying the blame upon the misery caused by the mita, and the exactions of the priests, and proposed certain remedies. There followed now a series of excellent viceroys, who exerted all their influence and power toward relieving the situation. Under the viceroyalty of Don Theodoro de Croix (1784–1790) the office of corregidor was abolished, and Peru was divided into seven large provinces called intendencias, over each of which was placed an intendent, directly subject to the viceroy. The intendancies were in turn divided into partidas, each of which was under a subdelegate, subject to the intendent. Following De Croix came Admiral de Taboada, who has been called the best and most enlightened of the viceroys. He was a lover of letters and a promoter of enlightened thought. Under his patronage letters and learning flourished at Lima. Taboada was followed by a very remarkable man, Ambrose O'Higgins. He was an Irishman, who as a boy had come out to Peru, and through sheer talent and tact succeeded in becoming captain-general of Chile (1788–1796) and later viceroy of Peru (1796–1800). The next viceroy, Aviles (1800–1806), was a man of very different character, who promoted no useful measure, while under his successor, Fernando Abascal, the revolutionary movement began which was finally to overthrow the colonial power of Spain.

Reforms in the Government of Peru

Chile

From the beginning Chile was largely independent of Peru, though it remained to the end of the colonial period a part of the viceroyalty. For the most part, the country was ruled by a governor appointed by the Spanish crown, though in 1567 the royal audiencia was established, with Don Melchor de Bravo as president, civil governor, and military commander. This system of government, however, lasted only to 1575, when a special commissioner was appointed to reorganize the government under a captain general, and this system remained in operation to the close of the period. In the eighteenth century the captain-general of Chile took on increased importance, from the custom of appointing him, at the close of his term of office, to a more important post, often to that of the viceroy of Peru. The captaincy-general for the purpose of administration was divided into thirteen provinces, "which were governed by officers known at different times as corregidores, prefects, and subdelegates. These officials exercised both civil and military functions, and served without other compensation than the fees of their office." It was always necessary to maintain a large military force in Chile, due to the warlike Indians. Toward the close of the eighteenth century nearly two thousand regular troops were maintained, besides the militia. The expense of maintaining this military force was largely met from the funds of the viceroyalty at Lima.

The Government of Chile

New Granada

Until 1716 the territory included in the present states of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador was subject to the viceroy at Peru, but in that year the viceroyalty of New Granada was created, with the capital at Bogota. Previous to this the territory, now included in the present Republic of Colombia, was ruled by a long series of governors, who came and went without producing any change in the government. The first viceroy of New Granada was Don Sebastian de Eslaba, and his administration is marked by the repelling of an attack of the English upon Porto Bello. Besides this notable achievement the rule of

NEW SPAIN
GUADALAJARA
MEXICO
CUBA
SAN DOMINGO
GUATEMALA
GUATEMALA
PANAMA
CARACAS
VENEZUELA
NEW GRANADA
BOGOTA
QUITO
BRAZIL
LIMA
PERU
CHILE
SANTIAGO
LA PLATA
BUENOS AIRES
LA PLATA
POLITICAL DIVISIONS
Vice-Royalties
Captaincies General
Audiencias

The Viceroyalty of New Granada

Eslaba is also noted for the advancement made in internal improvements of the country, such as the construction of roads, building of bridges, and the development of manufacturing. During the closing years of the eighteenth century there was much internal disturbance, due to certain financial reforms instituted by the government, and there were even threats to throw off allegiance to the king of Spain. This danger, however, was allayed through the intervention of Archbishop Gorgora, who in recognition of this service was appointed viceroy. His administration, noted for his encouragement of science, and other wise measures, left the country in a condition of peace and prosperity.

Venezuela

In the interests of better administration Venezuela was set apart under a captain-general in 1777. For every practical purpose the governor-general was independent of the viceroy at Bogota. He was the head of the military, president of the audiencia, as well as the chief executive officer. He received a salary of $9,000 a year, besides the fees which came to him as judge. At the head of the financial administration of the captaincy-general was the intendent, who was given a large measure of independence in the conduct of his important office.

Rio de La Plata

From the foundation of Spanish colonies upon the Rio de La Plata until 1776 the whole region was included in the viceroyalty of Peru. In 1614 the territory had been divided into two provinces, with Buenos Ayres the capital of one, and Asunción the capital of the other. There were no mines, and no direct trade with Spain in Rio de La Plata, so there were few attractions, and population increased but slowly. Before the separation of the territory into two provinces Buenos Ayres had outgrown Asunción, and if there had been no restrictions upon direct trade with Spain the city at the mouth of the great river would have grown much more rapidly; but as it was,

Buenos Ayres had to look to Lima for her wares. The expense of transporting goods across the continent stimulated the Portuguese to carry on contraband trade, for, bringing their goods directly from Europe they could smuggle them across the river into the Spanish colonies at a small part of the price necessary if the goods were brought by way of Lima. So successful was this trade that even Lima merchants began the practice of coming to Buenos Ayres to make their purchases, rather than go to the Fair at Porto Bello. To further this trade the Portuguese began to push southward, along the Brazilian coast, and established a fort, Colonia, across the Rio de La Plata from Buenos Ayres. The founding of this post was resented by the population of the Spanish province, and an expedition was made against it, which succeeded in capturing the place. This, however, did not settle the matter, and for many years it was the cause of dispute between not only the Spanish and Portuguese in America but also between the home governments.

Development of the Contraband Trade

The immense distance from Lima and the increasing importance of Buenos Ayres led the Spanish colonial authorities to raise the latter city to the dignity of a viceroyalty (1776). The territory of the new viceroyalty included besides the old provinces of Buenos Ayres and Paraguay, the presidency of Charcas (modern Bolivia), and the province of Cuyo, which had formerly been a part of Chile. From 1776 to 1810 eleven viceroys ruled at Buenos Ayres, the first one being Antonio de Ceballos and the last Hidalgo de Cisneros.

Buenos Ayres Made a Viceroyalty

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CHAPTER XII

THE CAUSES OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN WARS FOR INDEPENDENCE

The causes of the South American wars for independence were far different from those which resulted in the rebellion of England's thirteen American colonies. As we survey the government of colonial Latin America in the light of twentieth-century democracy, we wonder why the Spanish colonists, badly governed and heavily taxed for the benefit of the mother country as they were, and in every way exploited, did not rebel long before they did. Yet still more strange to the North American is the fact that the immediate causes of the revolutions in South America did not grow out of the evil and despotic government which was imposed upon them. Mr. Bryce says it was Napoleon who brought about South American independence. The general causes of dissaffection, however, did grow out of conditions which had long existed, and with which we are already familiar.

General Causes of Disaffection

The Spanish colonist was supposed to enjoy the same constitutional rights as a citizen of Spain, but in many instances this was far from the fact. The government, at best, was extremely despotic, but when a despotic government is carried on by inefficient officials the despotism becomes unbearable, and this was the case in the Spanish colonies. The Inquisition which was established in the colonies was an institution hated by everyone. Its income depended upon the number of confiscations made, and very naturally, under these conditions, grave injustices were often perpetrated. So grave was the condition of things in 1780, due to general bad government, that serious revolts were threatened. We have already noticed the famous revolt of Tupac Amaru, which we remember grew

The Nature of Spanish Colonial Government a Cause of Disaffection

out of the corrupt government, especially of the corregidores. In the next year, 1781, serious trouble also threatened in New Granada. Here the revolutionists soon had more than fifteen thousand men under arms and marched against Bogota, crying, "Long live the king, but death to bad governors." Three years later two agents of these revolutionists visited England in the hope of getting arms and other support.

These revolts, coming at the same time as the successful uprising of the English colonies in North America, made the Spanish government very apprehensive, and an attempt was made at governmental reform, though what was done in this direction proved ineffectual. Spain delayed giving help to the revolting English colonies, although urged to do so by her ally France, because she feared the effect upon her own colonies. When she did give aid to the American colonies, in 1779, she was at the same time trying to keep out liberal ideas from her own colonies by instituting a crusade against suspected books, more rigidly restricting education, and by greatly increasing political imprisonments.

Added to the bad government of the Spanish colonies were her exasperating economic policies. It is true that after 1778 a more liberal policy was instituted, but even after this attempted economic reform a large proportion of the commercial transactions of the colonies were still illegal. We have already given an account of the way Spain exploited her colonies, through taxation of all kinds, through the granting of monopolies, the selling of offices, and through the exactions of a corrupt clergy. All these causes contributed to the general disaffection. There was also a growing jealousy, already of long standing, between the Spaniards of European birth and the Creoles. Practically all the officers appointed by the king were Spaniards, while the Creoles had little part in directing the affairs of either church or state. Down to the year 1810 there were 160 viceroys, and 588 captain-generals, governors, and presidents of audiencias, and out of this large number of officials only eighteen had been natives of the colonies. This becomes

Spain's Bad Economic Policies, Another General Cause of Disaffection

Jealousy Between European-Born Spaniards and Creoles

very significant when we come to study the revolutions themselves, for every great outstanding revolutionary leader was a Creole.

Immediate Causes of the Revolutions

Among the immediate causes of the Latin American wars for independence may be given the successful Revolution of England's colonies in America. The chief connecting link between the two revolutions was Francisco Miranda. Miranda was a native of Caracas, born in 1756. He came to the West Indies, as an officer in a Spanish expedition, in 1781, took part in a campaign against Pensacola, Florida, and in 1783 visited a number of American cities. His experience in North America led him to the belief that Spanish America could achieve a like independence, and henceforth he devoted his life to the carrying out of this thought. In spite of all precautions which the Spanish government took to keep out liberal ideas, during and following the American revolution, nevertheless doctrines of freedom began to find their way into the very center of Spanish power in America. Among those who were preaching these new doctrines were the Bishop of Arequipa and the rector of the College of San Carlos. Many of the clergy likewise joined in this movement and secret societies and clubs were formed where liberal ideas were discussed and plans laid to convert others to their cause. As a whole, however, the Spanish colonies were loyal to the Spanish crown up to the very close of the eighteenth century.

The American Revolution and Francisco de Miranda

Liberal Ideas Find Their Way into Spanish America

A more important cause of the decline of Spanish power in America was the long commercial struggle between England and Spain which culminated in the early years of the nineteenth century. The struggle began in the latter quarter of the sixteenth century when Hawkins and Drake led a long line of buccaneers to prey upon the Spanish treasure fleets. In the middle of the seventeenth century the English captured Jamaica, after which they proceeded to take over a number of the smaller West Indies. Spain had been little interested in

The English Commercial Interests in South America

the small islands and they were left unoccupied and unclaimed until the Dutch, English, and French took them over. With these islands as a center, English activities off the coasts of Spanish America greatly increased, and all during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they became a greater and greater menace to the Spanish dominions.

England and Spain in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

At the close of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713) England gained the contract to supply the Spanish Indies with slaves and also a limited right to trade with the Spanish colonies. This was the first lawful breach in the Spanish trade monopoly, and with this as an entering wedge the English greatly increased their activities. In 1739 England and Spain were again at war and the English attempted to conquer the island of Cuba. Again in the Seven Years' War (1756–63) Spain and England renewed the struggle and the British occupied Habana and Manila, while English merchants were busy supplying the Spanish colonists with duty-free merchandise. In 1779 Spain joined her ally France with the American colonies of England against her old enemy, and this time Spain regained Florida, which England had taken from her in 1763. Again during the Napoleon wars England and Spain once more stood face to face as enemies. Again England proceeded to attack Spain's possessions and to confiscate and capture Spanish ships.

The English Capture Buenos Ayres, 1806

As a part of England's campaign against France there was dispatched in the spring of 1806 an expedition of sixteen hundred men against Buenos Ayres, for Spain had made an alliance with Napoleon in 1795. The commander of this expedition had the year previous taken Cape Colony, in South Africa, from the Dutch. The English landed without opposition and marched toward Buenos Ayres, the Spanish viceroy fleeing to Cordoba. On taking the city the English commander declared himself governor. For years the English had been desirous of gaining a foothold in South America, and this seemed the opportunity they had long hoped for. At first the people of Buenos Ayres acquiesced in the British occupation, and Beresford, the English commander, exacted from all the officials, without

difficulty, an oath of allegiance to the British crown. Within a few weeks, however, the English were overpowered by the townspeople of Buenos Ayres, aided by a force which had been organized by a French naval officer, Liniers, in the employ of the Spanish at Montevideo. There was some hard fighting in the streets of Buenos Ayres, but the English were compelled to surrender, and Liniers, now a popular idol, was appointed viceroy. This victory, which the people of Buenos Ayres had achieved without help from Spain, greatly aroused their national and race pride.

A few months after these occurrences another and more formidable British expedition, consisting of four thousand men under General Whitelocke, made an attack upon the La Plata. The English landed this time in Uruguay, and took Montevideo by assault. With Montevideo as a base, the English now made an attack upon Buenos Ayres. The Argentinas met the English outside the city, but after some severe fighting they were compelled to retire, the English following them into the town.

The Second English Attack Upon Buenos Ayres, 1807

This proved foolish tactics on the part of the English, for as they marched through the narrow streets of the Spanish town the natives rained down upon them from the housetops stones and bullets, so that by the time they reached the main square their forces were greatly demoralized. Here the British were met by the Argentinas, drawn up behind breastworks. For two days the fighting raged, but finally the British were compelled to ask for terms. Again the people of Argentina had defended themselves successfully. They had little dreamed of such military prowess, and now that it was revealed beyond any doubt, their local pride was greatly stimulated. The people of Buenos Ayres, while not desiring to be ruled by the English, were willing to trade with them, and English commercial interests in the La Plata were greatly stimulated.

Previous to the events just described the English had captured the island of Trinidad, which gave English commercial interests a base at the mouth of the great river Orinoco. This also brought Englishmen and English interests very near the

north coast of South America. This close proximity of the English to the Spanish colonies could not fail to greatly influence the Creole element. When the wars for independence began, the revolutionists found these Englishmen ready with their help and encouragement.

The English Capture of Trinidad, 1797

Of the immediate causes of the South American wars for independence perhaps none are so important as the influence of the Napoleon wars. After conquering Prussia in 1806 and making peace with Russia in 1807, Napoleon turned his attention to Portugal and Spain. At this time the king of Spain was Charles IV, a weak and corrupt monarch, who had in 1795 signed a peace with Napoleon and a little later became the active ally of the French. Napoleon by 1807 had become anxious to add Spain to his empire and began to lay plans to accomplish that end. Charles IV and his son, Ferdinand, the heir to the throne, had quarreled, and Napoleon was called in to settle their differences. Calling these two "royal clowns" to Bayonne, just across the border, Napoleon proceeded to compel them to abdicate their throne, and their royal rights were then assumed by the wily arbiter (May, 1808). Spain was thereupon given to the brother of Bonaparte, Joseph Napoleon, who at once surrendered his kingdom of Naples to become the successor of the Bourbons upon the throne of Spain.

Napoleon Seizes the Crown of Spain

When Joseph Napoleon was proclaimed king in the Latin-American capitals the colonists refused to recognize the usurper, and everywhere the news was received with cries of "Viva Fernando Septimo." One of the first acts of Joseph Napoleon as king of Spain was to confirm all the governors and other royal officials in the colonies. This at once cast suspicion upon these officials, as being agents of the usurping king. An illustration of the feeling of the populace at this time is afforded by occurrences at Caracas. Here a British frigate arrived announcing an Anglo-Spanish alliance against Napoleon, just after a French vessel arrived with the news of the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the Spanish throne. The people received the Englishmen

The Colonies Refuse to Recognize Joseph Napoleon as King

with enthusiasm, while the Spanish governor officially received the French officials. What occurred in Caracas took place in practically all Latin-American capitals. The people were everywhere opposed to French control in Spain and were everywhere suspicious of their own local colonial officials, and a condition of uncertainty was thus produced throughout the entire Spanish colonial empire.

The next scene in this drama, which naturally followed upon the situation already described, was the overthrow of the colonial officials and the setting up of independent governments. Thus in August, 1809, the citizens of Quito organized a sovereign junta, deposed the governor, and assumed the authority of the government. Similar things had already occurred in Spain, for juntas had been constituted at various centers, such as Seville and Asturias, and a national resistance had been organized against the French. These colonial juntas did not claim independence of Spain, nor did the central junta in Spain intend the destruction of the Spanish monarchy, but these governments both in the colonies and in Spain professed loyalty to Ferdinand VII, the deposed monarch, and professed to be upholding his royal authority. Thus between April and July, 1810, "all over South America the principal municipalities . . . formed juntas to preserve the authority of Ferdinand." The chief juntas thus formed were at Bogota, Cartagenia, Caracas, Santiago de Chile, and Buenos Ayres.

Organization of Juntas in Spain and the Colonies in Opposition to Joseph Napoleon

This was the situation out of which came Latin-American independence. These juntas, at first upholding the authority of the deposed king, proclaimed that they were fighting for his restoration. Thus through several years this strange condition prevailed, while in the meantime the people of Latin America were getting their first taste of self-government. But "the theory of allegiance to a dethroned and captive king, although sincerely held by the great majority, could not long survive," and in the end, through a perfectly natural evolution, the royal authority decreased. Gradually real revolutionary governments everywhere came into existence with the avowed intention of achieving independence of Spanish authority.

READING REFERENCES

South America on the Eve of Emancipation, by Bernard Moses, contains several chapters which throw light upon the causes of the wars.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE WARS FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Northern Movement

To Venezuela belongs the honor of starting the series of revolts which culminated in freeing the colonies of Central and South America from the Spanish yoke. Venezuela was an agricultural colony, and was therefore one of the most neglected of the Spanish possessions. The Spanish officials were few, and the number of Spanish residents was likewise small. Venezuela was also much exposed to the influence of both England and the United States through trade with Jamaica, Trinidad, and San Domingo, once the chief colony of Spain, "but now emerging from French rule into a stormy independence." In 1797 a conspiracy had been organized at La Guaira, a Venezuelan port, but it obtained little support and had been quickly overcome. The one man chiefly responsible for Venezuela's early revolt was Francisco Miranda, of whose early career we have already spoken. After the close of the American Revolution he began at once to lay plans for the independence of his own country. Those early plans, however, came to naught.

Francisco Miranda

From the States he went to England, and there submitted his plans to the younger Pitt, who at once promised him support in case of war. From England he now went to France, where the great Revolution was under way, and when the Revolutionary army was organized he became an officer. Becoming involved in the party struggles, he fell under suspicion, was thrown into prison, and only escaped through the death of Robespierre. Again he turned to England and America for aid. He received encouragement at the time from Rufus King, the American minister to England, and from Pitt. In 1805 he sailed for the United States, where Jefferson received him, and

Miranda Seeks Help from England and the United States

during a stay of fourteen days at the capital dined twice with the President. Miranda's hopes of obtaining the help of the United States were blasted, however, when he was finally informed that the Washington government would not officially aid him, but that an expedition fitted out in the United States would be winked at.

Immediately on receiving this assurance Miranda began preparations for an expedition against Caracas. Two vessels were fitted out in New York and a number of Americans enlisted. In January the expedition sailed, going first to San Domingo, and from there to Venezuela. Aided by Sir Thomas Cochran, an English admiral, and two Americans, an attempt was made on Puerto Cabello, but two of the vessels were taken, a number of the Americans were captured and later executed by the Spanish authorities, while Miranda was forced to flee to Jamaica. A month later another attempt was made to land a force at Coro, but after a successful landing they were again forced to withdraw. The population had expressed little interest in these endeavors, for the time was not yet ripe for a successful revolution.

The Expedition of 1806

The influence which finally led the Creoles of Venezuela to seek independence was the arrival of the French commissioners announcing the ascension of Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Spain. Throughout all of 1809 agitation was carried on by a group in Caracas, advocating separation, and they even sent to England seeking help for their cause. Finally, on April 19, 1810, an independent junta was formed at Caracas, "to preserve the rights of Ferdinand VII," and the Spanish officials were compelled to resign. Some of the provinces, however, refused to submit to this self-constituted government, the provinces of Coro and Maracaibo especially. Outside, however, of these royalist provinces the Junta was everywhere recognized, and in April, 1811, the Cabildos of the various towns were requested to elect members to a Congress. On July 5 this Congress assembled, and a Declaration of Independence was adopted, declaring the seven eastern provinces free and independent

The Independent Junta of Caracas, April 19, 1810

states. Miranda, who had returned from Europe, was given the military command of the new republic. Several royalist revolts occurred, one at Caracas, headed by the clergy, and another at Valencia, both of which Miranda successfully put down. The most serious menace came from the royalist province of Coro, whence a force under Monteverde, an able Spanish commander, was advancing upon Caracas.

In the midst of this impending danger to the new republic a terrible earthquake destroyed Caracas and killed over twenty thousand people in the revolting provinces, while twelve thousand persons lost their lives in the capital alone. The clergy immediately took advantage of this disaster and began to preach divine judgment to the terrified people, with the result that thousands deserted the patriot cause and went over to the royalists. Monteverde, the royalist commander, met little opposition as he advanced upon Caracas, and in July, 1812, Miranda signed a capitulation, securing free departure for the patriot leaders. Bolivar, a prominent leader of the Creole party, in charge of the fortress of Puerto Cabello, abandoned his command, and proceeded to Caracas, where he and several other officers threw Miranda into prison. Here Miranda was found by the Spanish commander when he took the city. Bolivar and the other officers were permitted to return to their estates, but Miranda was kept in prison, finally being removed to Spain, where he was taken from prison to prison, until his death, in 1816.

The Great Earthquake of 1812 and the Surrender of Caracas. Death of Miranda, 1816

Simon Bolivar, who had been associated with Miranda, was a Creole, born at Caracas in 1783, and at an early age fell heir to large estates in Venezuela. He received his education in Europe, spending much time at Madrid, and traveling in Europe. He found himself in Paris during the closing scenes of the Revolution, and there imbibed some of the Revolutionary doctrines. He had returned to Venezuela in 1809, "a childless widower of twenty-nine," and at once threw in his lot with the Revolutionary party, then just beginning operations. On returning to South America from Europe he had spent some time in the United States, where he had observed for the first time the successful workings

Simon Bolivar

of free institutions. After the fall of the first Venezuelan republic Bolivar retired to his estates, but not for long. He had determined to devote his life and fortune to the winning of Venezuelan independence, and from that time he became the "chief inspiration of the movement and ultimately the liberator of five extensive republics." He was not a leader to inspire confidence by his personal appearance, for he had a small and puny body, and was of unattractive face and figure. He was also vain and immoral, two typical Creole traits.

After the overthrow of the first Venezuelan republic in 1812, Bolivar went to Cartagenia, where he offered his sword to the Junta of that city, for New Granada had declared also for complete independence. Given a small force, he began operations on the Magdalena river, which he conducted with both skill and success. He now succeeded in raising a considerable force of New Granadans, and, marching eastward, proceeded to crush the royalist forces in Venezuela. Within fifty days he had cleared the two western provinces, and within thirteen months after Miranda's surrender he reentered Caracas at the head of his victorious forces. A second Venezuelan republic came into existence, with Bolivar at its head, with the title of "Liberator." Meanwhile new forces were collecting, which were soon to crush this second republic. Boves, a Spanish sergeant, dismissed from the Spanish army for misconduct, had gone among the warlike Indians of the plains and had succeeded in organizing in the name of the king a force of four thousand Indian horsemen, and was making his way toward the capital. In June, 1814, Bolivar met these forces, and at La Puerta suffered a disastrous defeat. Killing his prisoners, Bolivar deserted Caracas, and fled with a band of revolutionists. Crossing the mountains, he once more offered his services to New Granada.

The Second Republic of Venezuela, and the Campaign of 1814

Bolivar came to New Granada at an opportune moment, for after five years of stormy independence the country was reduced to a state of civil war, due to the rivalries and jealousies of the various Juntas. Both Bogota and Cartagena had set up governments, independent of the Congress, and Bolivar pro-

ceeded to reduce these independent centers. Meanwhile a new and able commander, Morillo, with a force of ten thousand troops, was sent over from Spain by Ferdinand, now restored to his throne. To this large force New Granada fell an easy prey, and once more Bolivar was forced to flee. New Granada was reduced to obedience, and one hundred and twenty-five persons were executed as traitors. The revolution appeared to be crushed, with the leaders either dead or in exile. Not only in the north was the revolution seemingly ended, but likewise everywhere else, except in Argentina, throughout Spanish America. The only patriot forces in either New Granada or Venezuela were a few guerilla bands, and a body of horse that had been gathered by Paez, an illiterate peasant, operating along the Orinoco.

New Granada

It was with this force of Paez that Bolivar next appeared. He had succeeded in organizing a small fleet in Haiti, largely manned by British sailors, and when he appeared on the Orinoco he was at once recognized as leader. By the early part of the year 1818 he had gained control of the whole course of the river, having captured Angostura in July, 1817, and the fortress of San Fernando in February, 1818. In the meantime the Spanish commander Morillo had returned from New Granada to Venezuela, and when Bolivar made an attempt to capture Caracas he was again badly defeated, and was left in desperate straits. At this juncture Bolivar contracted for a contingent of Irish and British troops, just released from the wars of Europe, and by the end of the year 1818 some six thousand had arrived. Against these soldiers no troops of South America could successfully stand.

Campaign of 1817-1818 Along the Orinoco

Of these six thousand British subjects "five sixths of them perished in the war, some in sanguinary fights, some under stress of labor, as prisoners in the torrid climate of Panama, but most by famine, pestilence, and hardships, such as they had never known in European warfare: they joined an army of almost naked men, destitute of baggage, commissariat, surgeons, and ambulance, fighting in a tropical country of indescribable difficulty, where capture

The British Forces

meant probable death, and victory was followed by a general slaughter of prisoners, where the path of war led across plains which turned from desert to swamp with the change of season, through a labyrinth of deep rivers infested by crocodiles and mosquitos, and over a vast mass of frozen mountains." South American independence owes much to the help rendered by British subjects.

Bolivar now conceived the daring idea of uniting his forces with those of New Granada. He accordingly started westward along the Orinoco. His plans were to cross the Andes, over the difficult Paya Pass, and surprise the Spanish army encamped in the valley. This was a very hazardous undertaking, for the road over the mountains in many places was but a track, and during their march the rain fell in torrents. Reaching the highest regions, the cold was so severe that all the horses perished, as well as a large number of his men. The expedition, however, was successful in completely surprising the Spaniards, who, not knowing the size of Bolivar's army, hesitated to attack him. This delay gave the patriots the needed opportunity to rest and to procure horses. Finally, on August 7, 1819, one of the most important battles in the wars for independence was fought at Boyaca. The patriots were completely victorious, and Bolivar entered Bogota. Returning after this victory to Venezuela, Bolivar ordered Venezuela and New Granada united into a single republic, to be called the Republic of Colombia, over which he assumed authority. At the same time he removed the capital from Angostura, on the Orinoco, to Cucuta, a town situated on the border between the two former republics.

The Campaign of 1819. The Battle of Boyaca

After Boyaca, Morillo and Bolivar signed a six-months' truce, and the next year a new Spanish commander, General De Torre, came out, succeeding Morillo. As soon as the truce was ended, Bolivar assumed the offensive, and sought battle with the Spaniards, now drawn up in the plain of Carabobo at the foot of the mountain passes to the west of Valencia. Bolivar had nine thousand troops, among them being a British legion of more than a thousand. De Torre, the Spanish commander,

Campaign of 1821. Battle of Carabobo, June, 1821

had divided his army, thus placing himself at a disadvantage. For the patriots, the British bore the brunt of the fighting, the turning point in the battle being a stirring bayonet charge by the British, which turned a desperate situation into a complete victory. The Spanish army fled to Puerto Cabello, while Bolivar advanced unopposed into Caracas, where a second time he was proclaimed the liberator and saviour of his country. With this campaign the war in Venezuela and New Granada was won and independence achieved.

On August 30, 1821, a constitution for the new Republic of Colombia was adopted by a convention meeting at Cucuta. Bolivar was made president, although the duties of that office were assumed by the vice-president, while Bolivar continued in command of the army. Bolivar now left for Ecuador and Peru to continue the fight for the liberation of the whole continent. Meanwhile the patriot army in Venezuela succeeded in driving the Spaniards from Puerto Cabello, and the whole country was freed of Spanish forces.

The Constitution of 1821

While Bolivar was leading the forces of Venezuela and New Granada to victory and independence, similar movements were under way in what are now Ecuador and Bolivia. In the early part of the year 1809 the Creoles of Quito determined to overthrow the Spanish officials and set up an independent Junta. There were only a few Spanish troops in Quito and the movement was successfully carried out on August 9. The Spanish officials, however, succeeded in gathering an army of Indians, easily defeated the revolutionists, and the president of Quito was restored to power. Again, in 1810, the Creoles made an attempt to capture the barracks at Quito, but were driven off, and many of them killed. Later Castilla, the president, resigned, to be succeeded by a new Junta, and the war continued. Royalists and revolutionists each raised levies among the Indians, and as the armies became better organized, the war became more cruel and bloody. Finally, in 1812, the Spaniards gained the upper hand, and their army, under the able command of General Montes, took Quito, and he ruled as president for nine

The Revolution in Ecuador

years. All revolutionary movements in Ecuador were practically at an end until Bolivar appeared with aid from the newly organized republic of Colombia. In the fall of 1821 General Sucre arrived by sea at Guayquil with seventeen hundred veterans from New Granada, while Bolivar was advancing from Bogota southward. Later Sucre received twelve hundred reenforcements from San Martin, proceeded toward Quito, and took up his position on the slopes of the volcano, Pichincha, overlooking the city. Here was fought the decisive battle in Ecuador's fight for independence on the morning of May 24, 1822. The forces of Sucre were completely victorious. The royalist army was practically annihilated and surrendered the following day.

The Battle of Pichincha, May 24, 1822

The independence of Ecuador had been won by outside forces, for the army of Sucre was composed of Colombians and Argentines. After the victory at Pichincha the Assembly at Quito accepted incorporation into the Republic of Colombia, now a vast confederation.

While the revolutionary movement was under way in all the other South American capitals, Peru alone remained quiet. Lima was the very center of the Spanish power in America, and although revolutionary ideas had early found entrance into Creole society of the capital, yet the energy and activity displayed by Abascal, the viceroy, made an open revolt seem impossible. In 1814 there was an Indian rising in the region of Cuzco, led by an Indian cacique, but although it was aided by the people of La Paz, the revolt was not formidable and was soon put down after a horrible massacre near Lake Titicaca. Peru and Ecuador were the centers from which the Spanish authorities sent out their expeditions to quell the revolts in other parts of the continent, and by 1816 the revolution everywhere seemed to be at an end. It was not until the northern movement, led by Bolivar and his able lieutenant Sucre, and the southern movement, led by San Martin, had won independence for all the other districts that Peruvian independence was attained. Peru was the last stronghold of Spanish power in South America.

Peru During the Early Years of the Revolution, 1809-1820

Before we can recount the complete story of Peru's independence we must turn to the southern revolutionary movement. This began in Buenos Ayres, swept across the continent, liberated Chile, and then swung northward to join forces with Bolivar.

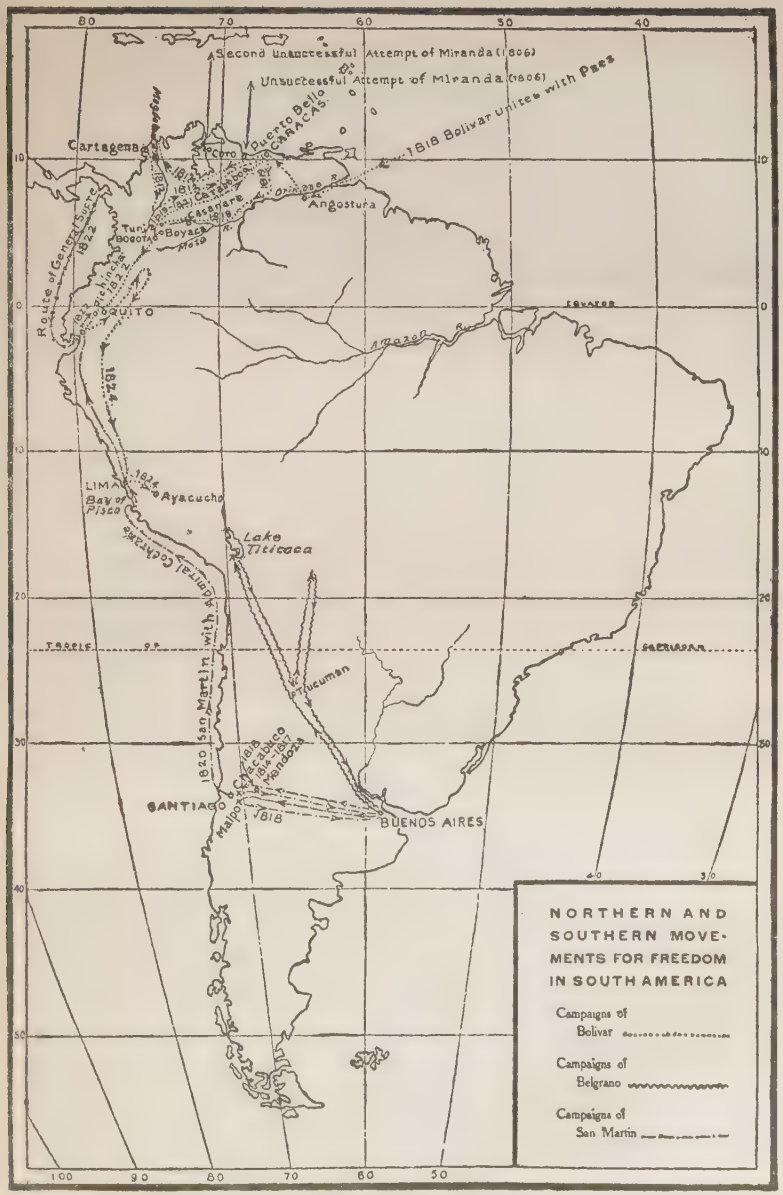
The Southern Movement

Buenos Ayres was more democratic and had less of the aristocratic element than any of the other large cities in South America. The city had grown very rapidly and had attracted the most adventurous and enterprising people. There was also present an especial hatred of the Spaniard, due to Spain's repressive policy in regard to trade. Argentina had also, as we have already noticed, succeeded in repelling the British in 1806 and again in 1807, and this achievement had created a national consciousness not elsewhere found in South America.

Beginnings of the Revolution in Argentina

When the news of Joseph Napoleon's usurpation of the Spanish throne reached Buenos Ayres it was received with indignation. Liniers, the viceroy, appointed after the expulsion of the English in 1807, was favored by the Creoles, and on the attempt of the royalist governor of Montevideo to displace him he was reinstated by Creole troops. The central Junta of Spain now sent over Admiral Cisneros as viceroy, who found on his arrival the government in the hands of a small group of men who were working for independence. The feeling between the Creole party and the Spaniards grew more intense, and finally, on May 22, 1810, a committee of the Creole party waited upon the viceroy and demanded his resignation. The militia was entirely in the hands of the Creoles, and he was therefore powerless to resist. On May 25, now celebrated as Argentina's independence day, a great armed assembly met in the plaza and a Junta was named from among the Creole leaders.

Like the other early revolutionary movements, the Argentinas did not intend their act in organizing their Junta as a separation from Spain, but professed to be acting in the name and for the interest of Ferdinand VII. The attempt, however,


Second Unsuccessful Attempt of Miranda (1806)
Unsuccessful Attempt of Miranda (1806)
1818 Bolivar Unites with Paez
Cartagena
Puerto Bello
CARACAS
Cerro
Angostura
Orinoco
Tunja
BOGOTA
Boyaca
Pisba
Route of General Sucre 1822
QUITO
EQUATOR
Amazon
1824
LIMA
Bay of Pisco
Ayacucho
1824
Lake Titicaca
TROPIC OF
Tucuman
1820 San Martin with Army
1817 Chacabuco
1817
Mendoza
SANTIAGO
Maipo
1818
BUENOS AIRES
NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN MOVEMENTS FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AMERICA
Campaigns of Bolivar
Campaigns of Belgrano
Campaigns of San Martin

to unite the whole viceroyalty under the Junta failed. Paraguay was approached on the matter of union, but they had organized their own government, and declined to unite, while at the same time a reactionary movement was under way at Cordoba. Montevideo was still held by the viceroy, but he was overcome in 1814. The patriots of Argentina also desired to unite Bolivia with Argentina, but the influential Creole leaders of that district objected, and when in 1811–12 an Argentine army invaded Bolivia they were defeated on the shores of Lake Titicaca by the royalist forces sent out by the viceroy of Peru. The victorious Spanish forces in turn invaded Argentina, pursuing the fleeing patriots. They were now defeated by General Belgrano with a patriot army at Tucuman in the fall of 1812. This may be counted one of the decisive battles in the South American wars for independence, for it saved Buenos Ayres from capture, and probably the South American wars from extinction. Again the Argentinas attempted invasion of Bolivia in 1813, and again were defeated and driven out. In October of the same year the army of Belgrano was practically destroyed at Vilcapujio. It was at this juncture that a new leader appeared in Argentina in the person of San Martin.

The Government of the Junta

Battle of Tucuman, 1812

José de San Martin, the son of a Spanish official, was born in a little town on the Uruguay in 1778. He was sent to Spain, where he received a military education, and was engaged with the Spanish army in many campaigns between 1793 and 1811, attaining the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Hearing of the wars for independence in Argentina, San Martin decided to return to his native land and landed at Buenos Ayres in March, 1812. At first he was given command of some regiments in Buenos Ayres, which he at once set about drilling, and soon made of them the finest body of troops in South America. After the defeat of Belgrano, San Martin succeeded him as the head of the Argentina army, and at once began to put into operation a comprehensive plan, which included not only the independence of Argentina but also the freeing of the whole continent. He saw the futility

José de San Martin

of attempting to strike at the Spanish power by way of the mountains in upper Peru, and began to elaborate a plan to invade Peru by way of Chile. To carry out this scheme he gave up the command of the army of Argentina, and in September, 1814, asked for the governorship of the province of Cuyo, at the eastern end of the Uspallata pass over the Andes.

A revolutionary movement had begun in Chile, as in other centers in South America, when the news of the deposition of Ferdinand reached them. Everywhere sentiment was against the French, and leading Creoles proposed the establishment of an independent junta. Feeling rapidly became more intense when in May, 1810, the captain-general ordered the arrest of the leading Creoles. This action roused such a storm of protest that the captain-general resigned and placed the government in the hands of a wealthy nobleman. The agitation, however, continued, and in September, 1810, a Junta was organized, which assumed the government. In 1811 a Congress was elected, but soon after it was called together the several members from the southern provinces withdrew, and proceeded to organize a separate government at Concepción under the leadership of Rosas. The Santiago faction was led by Carrera, a young Creole of great ambition, who succeeded in gaining some small advantages over the Spanish. His conduct of the government was, however, of the worst sort, and factions soon arose against him. In 1813 the Spanish authorities in Peru sent down a force to subdue the Chilean revolt, and because Carrera was unable to meet this Spanish army he was forced to withdraw, and was succeeded by Bernardo O'Higgins, the natural son of the former viceroy, who had thrown in his lot with the revolutionists. O'Higgins, however, was unable to gain any permanent successes against the Spanish forces, and in 1814 the royalists regained complete control of Chile. From 1814 to 1817 all traces of the revolution were crushed, and O'Higgins fled across the Andes to Mendoza, where he joined San Martin in organizing an army which was to shatter forever the rule of the Spaniards on the Pacific.

Early Revolutionary Movement in Chile

For two years San Martin, aided by the Chilean patriot

O'Higgins, labored in this extreme out-of-the-way province, organizing and drilling troops, and gathering supplies for a supreme effort. Chilean patriots flocked to their standard, as did also Argentinas, and gradually a well-equipped and disciplined army was prepared.

While San Martin was busy training his army of Chileans and Argentinas at Mendoza, affairs at Buenos Ayres were in a turbulent condition. Civil war broke out between the military chiefs at the capital and the provinces, while insurrections against the ruling faction at Buenos Ayres followed one another in rapid succession. Military dictators rose and fell, while the provinces more and more ignored the pretense of the Buenos Ayres government to rule over them. During this period of disturbance various schemes of government were suggested. Belgrano proposed that the descendant of the Incas be made emperor of South America, while others favored inviting a member of the reigning Portuguese house to rule in Argentina. The only definite result from these proposals was the Declaration of Independence which was made at Tucuman by a Congress assembled there, on July 9, 1816, at which most of the provinces were represented. During the whole of the remaining years of the revolution this turbulent condition prevailed in Argentina; indeed, the contest between Buenos Ayres and the outlying provinces continued for long years afterward. Argentina's part in the final struggle for independence in South America is largely the story of the activities on the sea of the Irish sea captain, William Brown, who commanded the Argentina ships, and who succeeded in destroying the Spanish sea power on the Atlantic. This was a large factor in the success of the campaign of San Martin on the Pacific.

Civil War in Argentina

The revolutionary movement in Uruguay up to 1816 was more or less a part of the Argentina movement. After the Creoles had established their independent Junta at Buenos Ayres, Montevideo became the refuge for the royalists, and in 1811 the governor of Montevideo received the appointment of viceroy and proceeded to make war upon the Creoles of Buenos Ayres. The leadership of the Uruguayan patriot forces was

assumed by a dauntless guerrilla leader, José Artigas, who on May 18, 1811, defeated the royalist forces just outside Montevideo, but did not succeed in capturing the city. This was accomplished soon after, however, by an army from Brazil, and the Portuguese continued to hold Uruguay as a part of their territory until 1825, when finally Uruguayan independence was achieved, aided by Buenos Ayres.

The Revolution in Uruguay

By the end of 1817 San Martin was ready with his army to begin the invasion of Chile. It was the middle of January when he broke camp, and dividing his forces into two divisions, began the ascent of the lofty Andes. One division was to go up by the Uspallata pass, while the other was to take the more difficult Patos pass to the north. The Spaniards were taken completely by surprise, and on February 12 the combined forces of San Martin and O'Higgins met and defeated the royalists at Chacabuco, situated not far to the east of Santiago. The next day the Spanish governor fled from Santiago, and San Martin entered the city, where he was urged to assume the government. This he declined to do, but suggested that he would be glad to have O'Higgins, his staunch friend and ally, appointed. This was accordingly done. But the independence of Chile was not yet accomplished, for the southern provinces still remained in Spanish hands.

San Martin in Chile

Battle of Chacabuco, February 12, 1818

Soon after the victory at Chacabuco San Martin hurried back to Buenos Ayres to urge upon the Argentina government the necessity of creating a fleet on the Pacific, in order to assure the independence of South America. Before he could accomplish his mission news came to San Martin that a Spanish army was active in southern Chile. Hurrying back to Chile, he prepared his army to meet the attack. In the first engagement the royalists attacked the Chileans in the night, and completely surprised them. San Martin was forced to retreat to Santiago. Undismayed by this reverse, the patriot commander reorganized his forces and prepared for the oncoming Spanish army. A few

The Battle of Maipo, April 5, 1818

miles to the south of Santiago, on the morning of April 5, 1818, the battle was joined and after a hard struggle the Spanish army was completely defeated. Twelve hundred royalists were killed out of an army of five thousand, while two thousand two hundred were captured. With this victory the first part of San Martin's comprehensive plan was accomplished, and Chile had won her independence.

Again after the victory of Maipo San Martin returned to Buenos Ayres to gain the cooperation of Argentina in his attack upon Peru. This he finally accomplished, and a combined fleet of Chilean and Argentina ships was collected in the Pacific, under the command of the British officer, Lord Thomas Cochrane. The fleet was largely manned by British and American sailors. Meanwhile San Martin was engaged in collecting an army for the invasion of Peru. The years 1818 to 1820 were given to this task, and after great discouragements he succeeded by the latter year in getting together an army of some four thousand. Placing this army on board the ships of Lord Cochrane's fleet in August, 1820, they arrived at the bay of Pisco the following month, where they landed without opposition.

San Martin Invades Peru, September, 1820

Up to this time no revolutionary movement of any consequence had taken place in Peru. Lima alone was defended by nine thousand soldiers, while an army of six thousand was guarding the Bolivian border. San Martin knew he was hopelessly outnumbered, but he also knew that many of the royalist forces were Indians, who were secretly in favor of the revolution. He accordingly adopted the policy of avoiding a pitched battle, while he sent out small bodies of troops to arouse the natives and win them away from the royalist cause. Meanwhile San Martin transferred his main force to Huacho, seventy miles north of Lima.

The policy adopted by San Martin was completely successful. Desertions from the Spanish army became frequent, while the viceroy feared to attack for fear of insurrection at Lima. The royalists were expecting reenforcements from Spain, where a large army was being prepared. This hoped-for relief, however, was destined not to arrive, for a mutiny among the Span-

ish troops occurred on the very eve of their embarkation, which began a Spanish revolution, making it impossible for Ferdinand to send out any help to the viceroy. When this news reached Pezuela, the viceroy, he determined to return to Spain, and the Spanish officers chose La Serna, one of their own number, to succeed him. La Serna now entered into negotiations with San Martin, hoping to come to some peaceful settlement of the whole South American question. These negotiations, however, were without result and the Spaniards evacuated Lima on July 6. On July 28 San Martin entered the city and a republic was proclaimed, with San Martin the temporary dictator with the title of protector.

San Martin Enters Lima, July 28, 1821

San Martin continued to manage the affairs of Peru until the summer of 1822, all the time hampered by jealousies and growing distrust on the part of the leading Peruvians. At this time the royalist army began to take the offensive, and San Martin realized the necessity of gaining help. Meanwhile Bolivar was approaching. Sucre had won the battle of Pichincha in May, 1822, thus emancipating Ecuador from Spanish rule. In the fall of 1822 San Martin met Bolivar in the coast town of Guayaquil. Exactly what took place at this interview has never been disclosed, but we know that San Martin offered to serve under Bolivar. San Martin expected to find in Bolivar an unselfish patriot, but of this expectation he was soon disillusioned, for he found the liberator of Colombia busy forming plans for his own aggrandizement. San Martin soon saw that he could not work with Bolivar, and on September 20, 1822, he resigned his authority and retired from Peru, leaving Bolivar in full possession.

The Meeting Between San Martin and Bolivar at Guayaquil, July, 1822

After his retirement San Martin spent some time in Chile, later going to Argentina, but his life became so unpleasant, due to the machinations of his enemies, that he finally left South America, to spend the remainder of his life in Europe. He lived until 1850, dying at Boulogne. San Martin was an extremely modest man. He was never self-seeking, never attempted to gain anything for his own advantage. It is said

that he never made a speech in his life, and he always hated display of every kind. He might have remained in South America and taken part in the endless civil wars, but rather than do that he went into voluntary exile. South Americans have but recently come to appreciate the services of this really great man, and now there are few cities in Argentina that have not erected a monument to his memory. To San Martin, more than to any other, the independence of Argentina, Chile, and Peru is due.

An Estimate of San Martin

Bolivar now took up the work where San Martin had left it. He had expected that Peru would at once invite him and his army to come to their help, but at first there was no disposition on the part of the Peruvians to do this. There were still many royalist soldiers in Peru, and in 1823 they became active and defeated the Peruvians. Bolivar was now asked to render assistance, and he accordingly entered Lima and was proclaimed director. Leaving Lima, he repaired northward into Colombia, where he hastily gathered an army. This done, he set out for Peru to give aid to Sucre, now hard pressed by royalist forces. An engagement was fought at Junin on August 5, 1824, at which the patriots barely snatched a victory out of defeat. Later Sucre met the royalists at Ayacucho, in central Peru, about half way between Lima and Cuzco. Here the last battle in the South American wars for independence was fought, and it was a worthy close to the long struggle. Six thousand patriots met and defeated nine thousand royalists. The viceroy was made a prisoner, and soon afterward upward of twenty-three thousand royalist troops surrendered in Peru. Callao still held out for some months longer, but in January, 1826, this last Spanish stronghold gave way, and the whole continent was freed from Spanish domination.

The Battle of Ayacucho, September 8, 1824

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CHAPTER XIV

THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO

PORTUGAL as well as Spain became involved in the Napoleonic wars. After the treaty between France and Spain had brought about friendly relations between those two countries, Portugal continued to admit English ships to her ports. England and Portugal had been on friendly terms for more than two centuries and Portugal was unwilling to forego this friendship at the behest of Napoleon, so when Napoleon demanded that Portugal make war on England, and confiscate all English property, Portugal refused. This refusal led Napoleon to send an army into Portugal. Resistance was hopeless, and Dom John, the regent, determined to take the royal family and sail for Brazil, Portugal's great colony in America. Accordingly, the regent, the Queen, Maria I, his insane mother, his immediate family, and a large number of nobles and officials and the treasury of the kingdom, set sail from Lisbon November 29, 1807. The next day the French army reached Lisbon only to see the masts of the fleet bearing the royal family disappearing down the Tagus.

Napoleon and Portugal

The court reached Bahia on January 25, 1808, and received a royal welcome from the inhabitants of the old capital, who would have been glad to have the court remain. Rio de Janeiro, however, had been selected as the new seat of the royal family and thither they proceeded after a short stay at Bahia. The coming of the court to Brazil was to begin a new policy, for Dom John at once threw open the ports to foreign commerce and a new era of prosperity began. Previously all intercourse between Brazil and foreign nations had been prohibited, while at the same time the crown drew vast revenues from her great colony. Dom John also removed the restrictions against indus-

The Coming of the Royal Family to Brazil, 1807–1808

tries and Brazil enjoyed a new activity along many lines. A royal mint was established, and also a National Bank and Military School, as well as the Royal Printing Press and Medical School.

While these beneficial reforms were taking place the government was being organized on the old Portuguese model. Dom John had brought with him a vast number of officials, ecclesiastics, nobles, and adventurers, all of whom expected support from the people of Brazil. Dom John was a well-meaning ruler, but weak and undecided. As officialdom increased the expenses likewise grew, and heavy taxes were imposed upon the people. The regent was lavish with honors and offices, whereas previously titles of nobility had been almost unknown. Brazilians now vied with the Portuguese in seeking these honors and "it is said that Dom John conferred more honorary insignia while in Brazil than had all the kings of the House of Braganza who had preceded him." The management of the finances was bad and it was not long until they were in utmost confusion. But in spite of these handicaps Brazil prospered, for foreign trade brought immigrants, English shipbuilders, and artisans, as well as Swedish, German, and French, who by their example of energy and industry diffused new energy into the country.

The Court at Rio de Janeiro

The year after the removal of the Portuguese court to Brazil an expedition was sent to occupy French Guiana in retaliation for the French invasion of Portugal. Attempts were also made to seize the Spanish colonies of Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, and the Spanish colonists were invited to place themselves under Portuguese protection. This proffer was refused, however, and in 1817 the Brazilians captured Montevideo, which they held as a province of Brazil for a number of years. In 1816 the mad Queen Maria died and Dom John assumed the title, John VI, King of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves. The decision of John VI to remain in Brazil, and the changing of the name of the kingdom, produced growing discontent in the homeland. The government in Brazil was not in the hands of natives, for the Portuguese held practically every office, and this condition

The Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves

produced discontent. This dissatisfaction was heightened by a decree levying heavy taxes upon Brazilian customs for a period of forty years for the benefit of the nobles of Portugal, who had suffered in the war with France.

In 1817 plots were discovered both in Portugal and Brazil looking toward the establishment of popular government, but were easily put down. The discovery of republican desires on the part of the Brazilians induced the king to send to Portugal for a body of forty-five hundred veteran troops, who were stationed at the various important centers. In 1820 another revolution broke out in Portugal, and this time representative government was established. The Portuguese troops stationed in Brazil were friendly toward this liberal movement and revolted in order to compel the king to accept the constitution which had been proclaimed in Portugal. Things were in a serious condition when Dom Pedro, the son of King John, came forward as a mediator between the troops and the king. The king finally accepted the constitution and appointed a new ministry.

The Revolution of 1820

Soon after this King John decided to return to Portugal, influenced by public opinion there and also by the British government. This he did much against his desire, leaving Dom Pedro as regent. Fortunately for Brazil, many of the nobles and hangers-on of the court accompanied him, though he carried off a vast sum of specie from the National Bank. This procedure filled the Brazilians with alarm, and when the Cortes of Portugal ordered the prince, Dom Pedro, also to return, a crisis was precipitated. Brazilians foresaw that if their prince returned to Portugal, Brazil would probably be reduced to her old position as a colony instead of remaining an integral part of the kingdom, and the old restrictions would be renewed. As a result of this the patriotic party, which had before consisted only of those who favored a republic, now began to advocate separation from the mother country. Dom Pedro was torn asunder. He did not wish to be a traitor to his father or to Portugal, and for a time he strongly considered returning to Portugal.

The Movement Toward Nationalism in Brazil

The leader of the party for Brazilian independence was Jose Bonifacio de Andrada. Andrada was a man of statesmanlike qualities, besides being a distinguished scientist. He had taken part in the Peninsular war, had become disgusted with the Portuguese government, and on his return to Brazil, in 1819, became a stanch advocate of separation and independence.

The Independence of Brazil, September 7, 1822

On the demand of the Cortes that Dom Pedro return, great pressure was brought to bear upon the prince by leading Brazilians, and he was at last persuaded to remain and defend Brazil not against his father but against the Cortes. A new ministry was formed in which Andrada was given a chief place, while a Legislative Assembly was called on June 3, 1822. At first Dom Pedro accepted the title of "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil." Finally, on September 7, 1822, the independence of Brazil was declared by the prince, and on October 12 he was declared the constitutional emperor of Brazil.

Several of the ports were still occupied by Portuguese troops, and the next thing attempted after the declaration of independence was to secure these ports. Lord Thomas Cochrane was made the commander of the imperial fleet of Brazil, and he successfully blockaded the coast. On July 2, 1823, the Portuguese commander at Bahia was forced to surrender, and soon after the garrison at Montevideo was also expelled. By the end of the year the emperor was established securely upon his new throne, and the empire of Brazil had become an accomplished fact. On August 29, 1825, largely through British influence, Portugal recognized the independence of Brazil.

Expulsion of Portuguese Troops from Brazil

The Independence of Mexico

The causes of the revolution in Mexico were somewhat different from those which gave liberty to South America. Besides the jealousy existing between the Creole class and the European-born Spaniards, the oppressive taxation and bad economic policies, there were certain other grievances peculiar to Mexico. In 1804 certain benevolent funds, amounting to $45,000,000, invested in mortgages, were called in for the

benefit of Spain. As a result there were many forced sales, and many were ruined. There followed also other exactions and confiscations, and when Joseph Napoleon succeeded Ferdinand VII on the throne of Spain the City of Mexico urged the viceroy, Iturrigaray, to declare the country independent. The viceroy proposed a Congress, but before it could be called together a conspiracy, made up mostly of Spaniards who feared separation would result in their loss of their privileged positions, overthrew the viceroy, and he was sent to Spain a prisoner.

Causes of the Mexican Revolution

The next two viceroys were men who possessed few qualities for that office. There were several trials for treason as a result of the previous outbreak, which increased the discontent, and the revolutionary element increased in numbers. The first phase of the Mexican revolution began in 1810 and continued for ten years. These first ten years were characterized by Indian revolts, which were badly organized and accomplished very little for the cause of independence. A revolution broke out in 1810 to the north of Mexico City, in Queretaro and Guanajuato. The leaders of this revolt were Miguel Hidalgo, a native priest, and Allende, a captain of cavalry. Their forces were largely made up of Indians, badly organized and poorly armed. On September 28, 1810, they attacked the town of Guanajuato, which was defended by the intendent. After bloody hand-to-hand fighting the rebels took the fortress. Hidalgo now proceeded toward Mexico City, fighting as he went. Learning that a large force was coming against him from San Luis Potosi, he decided it was best to retreat to the district from which his support was derived. This retreat led to desertions, so that when he was attacked by the royalist forces at Celaya the insurgents were routed. Hidalgo now reorganized his forces once more and, proceeding to Guadalajara, set up a form of government. The insurgents were now in possession of territory stretching from sea to sea, and including the present states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi.

The First Phase of the Mexican Revolution, 1810-1820

In the beginning of the year 1811 Hidalgo moved out of Guadalajara with his entire force, which consisted of 60,000

infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 100 cannon. The royalist forces were much smaller, numbering not more than 6,000 all told, but they were well disciplined, and under a skillful commander. On January 21 a battle was fought near the city of Guadalajara, which resulted in the complete victory of the royalists. Hidalgo fled, turning over the command of the army to Allende. The defeat of the patriot forces was a serious blow to the cause. Town after town now yielded to the victors, while the leaders attempted to escape to the United States. They were soon captured and the judgment of death upon Hidalgo and Allende followed.

The Overthrow and Execution of Hidalgo

The revolution, however, was not yet entirely overthrown. In the southern provinces a small body of insurgents remained under arms under the leadership of another native priest, José Maria Morales. For two years this energetic leader kept life in the movement, winning some victories and capturing some towns, taking Acapulco in 1813. In the early part of 1814 the insurgent forces appeared before the capital of the province of Michoacan, where they were met by a force of royalists under Iturbide and defeated. The patriots were maintaining a form of government, under a Congress, and so numerous were the adherents that in 1814 the viceroy appealed to the home government for a reenforcement of eight thousand men. The patriot forces now suffered disaster after disaster. In the latter part of 1815 Morales was captured, and soon after met the same fate as his fellow patriot, Hidalgo. During 1816 the war continued without any result on either side, and in the fall a new viceroy came out to succeed Calleja. The new viceroy adopted a policy of conciliation, which, combined with skill and energy, caused the surrender of the leading rebel officers in January, 1817. With this the first phase of the Mexican revolution closed.

The Revolution Under Morales. Execution of Morales, December, 1815

In 1820 a revolution broke out in Spain, the object of which was to compel Ferdinand VII to accept the constitution which had been adopted in Spain in 1812. This constitution provided for a liberal form of government. The promulgation of

LOWER CALIFORNIA
SONORA
CHIHUAHUA
COAHUILA
NUEVO LEON
TAMAULIPAS
SINALOA
DURANGO
ZACATECAS
SAN LUIS POTOSI
TERR TEPIC
JALISCO
Guadalajara
1811
Calderon
1811
HIDALGO
Morelos
1811
MEXICO
COLIMA
MICHOACAN
PUEBLA
VERA CRUZ
TABASCO
GUERRERO
Acapulco
OAXACA
CHIAPAS
MOVEMENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE IN MEXICO
Campaigns of Hidalgo and Allende
Campaigns of Morelos

this constitution in Mexico had a very different effect from what was anticipated. On the one hand it revived the spirit of independence which had been smouldering since the overthrow of the former revolutionary movement; on the other hand, the effect upon the European-born Spaniards and high church officials was quite different. These classes, composing the conservative party, opposed the constitution, fearing it would curtail their privileges. Although he had taken an oath to support the constitution, Apodaca, the viceroy, secretly favored the opposition, and plans were now laid by the conservatives to declare the independence of Mexico from a liberal Spain. The church favored this movement, fearing that a liberal government would force on them disendowment, toleration, and other radical reforms. Agustin de Iturbide was induced to become the commander of the forces of the conservatives. Iturbide, however, seems to have had far different intentions from those held by the European-born Spaniards. He now conceived the idea of uniting the conservative and Creole forces and of proclaiming the independence of Mexico. It was at the town of Iguala, near Acapulco, that he proclaimed this project, on February 24, 1821. For this reason it has become known as the "Plan of Iguala." It declared that Mexico should be an independent nation, with a constitutional monarchy headed by a Bourbon prince, and the Catholic faith as its form of religion.

The Conservative Revolution

The Plan of Iguala

The next move was the deposition of the viceroy and the appointment of a military officer in his place, who, however, had but little authority. The survivors of the early movements now flocked to the standard of Iturbide, and by July, 1821, the whole country recognized his authority. At this juncture a new viceroy, O'Donju, came out from Spain. An interview was arranged between him and Iturbide at Cordoba, and there the viceroy was persuaded to accept the plan of Iguala to put a Bourbon upon the throne of Mexico. On September 27, 1821, the capital was entered by the insurgent army without bloodshed, the independence of Mexico having been declared.

The Independence of Mexico

Provision was now made for the assembling of a Congress, which came together on February 24, 1822. When Congress met three parties were found among its members: the Bourbonists, who favored the plan of Iguala; the Republicans, who favored the establishment of a federal republic; and the Iturbidites, who desired to put Iturbide upon the throne. In the meantime it was learned that the government of Spain refused to recognize the independence of Mexico, and thus there was no chance to place a Bourbon upon the throne. The only two parties left were the Republican and the party of Iturbide. Finally, on May 18, Iturbide was elected emperor under the title of Agustin the First. The ratification of this action was soon given by the provinces and the new reign started most favorably. Iturbide, however, assumed all the airs of an hereditary monarch; a struggle for power between the emperor and Congress immediately began, which finally ended with the emperor's overthrow.

Iturbide Elected Emperor

Iturbide exerted his authority with a high hand and proceeded to imprison the leading members of Congress, finally proclaiming its dissolution. A Junta was appointed in its place, nominated by the emperor. This action led to the breaking out of revolts in the northern provinces in November, which, however, were readily suppressed. The next month saw another more serious revolt, led by a young general, Santa Anna, who was soon joined by a number of the old Republican leaders. Immediately the whole population flocked to the Republican standard and Iturbide found himself practically deserted. This led him to abdicate on March 19, 1823, promising at the same time to leave the country, not, however, until he had been assured an allowance of $25,000 annually. In May he embarked for Italy. He remained in Europe only a year, returning in disguise in July, 1824. On learning of his intention to return, Congress had passed a law outlawing him, and he had no sooner landed than he was seized and almost immediately shot. With the adoption of a new constitution in October, 1824, the Republic of Mexico was created.

Overthrow of Iturbide

The independence of Central America was accomplished without the shedding of blood, as there were no Spanish troops stationed there. Central America was a neglected part of the Spanish colonial empire, and in the latter part of its colonial history was governed by a captain-general, whose seat of government was in Guatemala. It was not until both Colombia to the south and Mexico on the north had achieved their independence that the people of Central America took any steps toward asserting their own independence. In September, 1821, Guatemala declared herself free, to be followed soon afterward by San Salvador and Honduras. The Spanish officials could make no resistance to these declarations. They fled to Cuba and from thence to Spain. During the brief reign of Iturbide Central America was annexed to Mexico, though there was some resistance to this plan. When, however, a republic was proclaimed in Mexico in 1824, the Central American states withdrew from the confederation and drove out the Mexican officials. A federation of the Central American States was then formed, modeled after the government of the United States.

Central American Independence

In winning their independence the Latin-American states had received encouragement and help from both England and the United States. In the early years of the struggle England, by her naval victories over the French and the Spanish, made it impossible for aid to be sent to the Spanish royalist officials in South and Central America. At the close of the Napoleonic wars England and Spain entered into a treaty, England promising to prevent her subjects from supplying the insurgents in America with war supplies. In spite of this treaty, however, Englishmen continued to give active aid to the Spanish rebels. Soldiers were openly enlisted in London, ships were chartered for South American service and loaded with supplies at British ports, and as we have already seen, more than one battle was decided in favor of the patriots by the participation of British legions and British sailors. In 1817, when Ferdinand of Spain proposed that the allied powers

The Relation of England to the Spanish-American Wars for Independence

of Europe assist Spain in reducing her rebellious colonists to submission, England's attitude defeated the nefarious proposition. It was England's desire for South American trade, coupled with her love for liberty and popular government, which accounts for her action.

As early as 1817 the United States sent commissioners to South America, and in 1822 recognized the independence of Colombia, Chile, Buenos Ayres, and Mexico. In the summer of 1823 a French army had invaded Spain to put down the rebellion there and the European allies were considering measures for the settlement of Spain's colonial difficulties. Great Britain had already intimated to the European states that she considered the separation of the colonies from Spain as accomplished, though she had not as yet recognized their independence. Canning, the British foreign minister, sought the cooperation of the United States in formulating a South American policy, but as Great Britain refused immediate recognition for the Latin-American states, the United States proceeded to formulate its own policy. While both the United States and England were friends to liberal government, yet there was considerable rivalry between them, because England feared the United States would obtain a supremacy in South American affairs. England notified the allied powers that she would oppose any step on their part looking toward intervention in American affairs, and since England controlled the sea, her protest was very important. This was done in October, 1823, while in December of that year President Monroe sent his famous message to the American Congress. In that message he stated that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the absolute monarchies of Europe "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." He further stated that the United States could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing the South American States, or "controlling in any manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The Formulation of the Monroe Doctrine

This, with the protest already made by England, was sufficient to keep the European powers from carrying out their intention of interfering with the South American revolutions. In spite of these protests on the part of England and America, and the recognition of the independence of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico by England, Spain kept up the pretense of carrying on the wars in America until 1830. In that year the papal court opened up relations with the South American countries, which was an important concession, and in the course of the next twenty-five years Spain recognized the independence of each of her one-time colonies.

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CHAPTER XV

THE BACKWARD STATES AND THE MILITARY DICTATORS

In all of the Latin American states during the first period of independence ignorant soldiers were at the head of the governments. The lieutenants of Bolivar ruled in the north and northwestern states, while other rulers, equally inefficient, ruled in Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. During the early years of independence Latin America has little history worth remembering in detail. A brilliant South American has summed up these years as follows: "The political comedy is repeated periodically: a revolution, a dictator; a program of national restoration, followed by another revolution, another dictator, etc." Anarchy led to dictatorships, and these in turn provoked revolutions. The north and northwestern states had been united both in colonial and revolutionary times, but became divided into several separate states, largely at the behest of the military dictators. All of the states established liberal constitutions, modeled after the French or the United States, but these constitutions were powerless to produce actual republican governments, in opposition to the military dictators.

Characteristics of the Period

After the liberation of South America from Spanish rule Bolivar devoted the remainder of his life to unite Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia into a great republic. In 1824 he was in Peru, where he received a message from the Colombian Congress informing him that on account of his absence he could no longer be recognized as the president of Colombia. He continued, however, in Peru, forming upper Peru, or Bolivia, into a republic, naming Sucre as president. In 1825 he returned to Lima, where he was received with great enthusiasm. Here he devoted himself to the assembling of a Pan-American Congress, to meet at Panama, and invited delegates from Peru, Chile, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres to attend.

The Last Years of Simon Bolivar

The inefficiency of the government of the states to the north finally induced him to return thither, and he left Lima in November, 1826. On his return to Bogota he was again proclaimed sole ruler, but his scheme for a greater Colombia failed. The rulers he left in Peru and Bolivia were overthrown soon after his departure, while in 1829 the towns in Venezuela one after another declared their separation from Colombia. In 1830 Ecuador also withdrew and another independent republic was established. Bolivar now proposed that a Bourbon prince be crowned ruler at Bogota, as a last effort to unite the several states, but this likewise came to naught. In 1830 Bolivar resigned his authority and retired to Cartagenia, from whence he expected to sail for Europe. Before, however, he could get away he was seized with consumption and died, still a young man of forty-seven.

An Estimate of Bolivar

Bolivar is considered by the South Americans as the greatest of the American liberators. They think of him much as we think of Washington, though he was a very different man from our Washington. In his ambitions he was nearer like Napoleon. He was indifferent to money, but craved power. Like Napoleon, he won the devotion of the people and was the only one of the revolutionary leaders who succeeded in gathering about him a group of able lieutenants, devoted to himself and to the work of winning independence. In many respects he was of statesmanship proportions, though his greatest dream, the creation of a great South American confederation, was never realized. He had some personal qualities which do not attract North Americans to him. He was on many occasions bloodthirsty and cruel, but he was also generous and brave. He was impetuous and sensual, living during his later years with a concubine. Although he was a disciple of Rousseau, and believed in the sovereignty of the people, yet in order to bring about order he was willing to create a monarchy. On his deathbed he wrote: "I blush to admit it, but independence is the only benefit we have achieved, and that has been at the cost of all others. Our constitutions are books, our laws papers, our elections

combats, and life itself a torment. We shall arrive at such a state that no foreign nation will condescend to conquer us, and we shall be governed by petty tyrants." Thus did the great liberator clearly foresee the nature of the first decade of South American independence.

Venezuela

The period of the military dictators in Venezuela lasted almost down to our own day. At the death of Bolivar all thought of reunion with Colombia came to an end and Venezuela began her independent career. Her separation was largely due to the ambitions of Paez, who had been a lieutenant of Bolivar. Paez became the first president in 1830, and remained the dominating figure in Venezuela for twenty years. He had come into prominence as the leader of horsemen of the plains during the revolution, and was himself a half-breed Indian. After the death of Bolivar Venezuela began to pay honor to the great liberator, and in 1842 his body was removed to Caracas, his native city, where it was placed in the Temple of San Francisco. Paez was driven from the country in 1849 by General José Monagas, who had been nominated by Paez in 1847 for the presidency. For ten years Monagas was supreme, and during these years a number of important reforms were brought about, one being the abolition of the death penalty for political offenses, and another the abolition of slavery. Both Paez and Monagas represented the conservative party and ruled as practical dictators, but as early as 1840 a liberal reaction began which finally resulted in the overthrow of the constitution of 1830.

Paez, 1830-1849

Until 1850 Venezuela had been a centralized republic, but in that year a revolution broke out, headed by General Falcon and Guzman-Blanco, which finally succeeded, after four years of war, in overthrowing the centralized government. A federal republic was then established. In 1870 Guzman-Blanco, the son of a former leader of the liberal party, came into power, and he dominated affairs for another twenty years. Blanco has been termed a beneficent despot, for during his adminis-

tration Venezuela experienced a period of orderly government and material progress, such as she had not previously had. He fostered education, reformed the civil and penal codes, established civil marriage, and furthered the building of highways and railroads. The army was reformed, credit was restored, and at the end of his first administration, in 1877, the country was at peace and prosperity was everywhere manifest. In 1878 he came back to power through a revolution, and ruled as dictator until his overthrow in 1889. He occasionally permitted someone else to be president, though he always found pretext for intervention. The governors of the states were his tools, and he took care that the members of Congress should be men who would do his bidding.

Guzman-Blanco, 1870–1890

Guzman-Blanco was overthrown in 1889 by a revolt headed by Rojas Paul, while Paul, in turn, was overthrown by Andueza, and he by Crespo, and Crespo by Andrada. In 1899 the most notorious of the recent rulers of Venezuela came into power in the person of Castro, who remained dictator until 1908. His administration has particular interest for the United States, because of the diplomatic troubles which grew out of the claims of Great Britain, Italy, and Germany. This dispute led to President Roosevelt's threat to enforce the Monroe Doctrine against Germany, even at the expense of sending down American battleships.

Castro

Venezuela has not yet gone beyond the period of the military dictators, and in many respects is one of the most backward of the South American states. The latter dictators, especially Castro, plundered the country, and have done little to improve the material conditions.

Colombia

In the year following the death of Bolivar the Republic of New Granada was founded, both Ecuador and Venezuela having already withdrawn from the confederation, which had been established by the great liberator. A constitution was formulated in 1832 and General Santander became the first president. At the conclusion of the administration of Santander, in 1836, an absolute

Colombia, 1829–1849

obligarchy was established in which the clergy were given large influence. In 1841 the Jesuits were restored and the Liberal clauses of the constitution were disregarded. For the first twenty years of Colombian independence the Conservative party was in power, and during this period the work of organization was performed.

Following the period of conservative control came a liberal government. A new constitution was formed in 1853, in which the liberty of the press, and suffrage, as well as the separation of the church and state, were guaranteed. Following the adoption of this constitution the Jesuits were expelled, slavery abolished, and other reforms accomplished. The two names most conspicuous in the history of Colombia during the last half of the nineteenth century are General Mosquera, who was president three times from 1845 to 1867, and Rafael Nunez, likewise president for three terms, from 1880 to 1895. Mosquera was instrumental in bringing about considerable material progress. In his administrations railroads were constructed, steam navigation commenced on the Magdalena, the finances were organized, while adequate provision was made for the national debt, and the prestige of the country greatly improved. He, however, was a dictator and made little pretense at observing the constitutional limitations. Nunez at one time had been secretary to Mosquera and had served his country both as president of the Senate and in the diplomatic service. He became president in 1880. In 1886, after a period of revolution, a new constitution was proclaimed which abolished the Federal Republic, the states became departments, and the president appointed the governors. This has been the last change in the constitution.

Mosquera, 1845-1867; Rafael Nunez, 1880-1895

Colombia has had twenty-seven civil wars, which have cost thirty-seven million pesos (gold). The civil wars in Colombia have been fought for principle perhaps more than those of the other republics. Calderon thus characterizes Colombia's political history: "In Colombia exalted convictions are the motives of political enmities; men abandon fortune and family, as in the great

Colombia's Revolutions

religious periods of history, to hasten the defense of a principle. These hidalgoes waste the country and fall nobly, with the Semitic ardor of Spanish crusaders. . . . Colombia perishes, but the truth is saved."

The Revolution of 1899-1903

In 1899 a series of revolutionary movements began which continued until 1903. This movement was fathered by the Liberal party, which was desirous of wresting the power from the conservatives, who had been in control more or less constantly since 1867. Fighting went on with great fierceness, the government troops generally winning the battles. On several occasions foreign troops had to be landed to protect foreign interests, as was the case at Colon and Panama, to protect the operations of the Panama Railroad. On the final overthrow of the revolutionists, the country was in a deplorable condition. Tens of thousands of lives had been destroyed, as well as property and trade. In many towns and villages practically the entire male population was wiped out. This revolution has a particular bearing upon the United States, because it was during its progress that the United States was negotiating with Colombia for the Panama Canal Zone.

The Administration of Rafael Reyes

Following the Panama negotiations, General Reyes, who had gained distinction as the special envoy of Colombia to the United States to protest against the recognition of Panama, became the president. He found the country in an exhausted condition, and determined to bring about reform by introducing the methods and policy of General Diaz, the Mexican dictator. Accordingly, an assembly was called to revise the constitution, the term of the presidency was lengthened to ten years, with no restrictions as to reelection, and Reyes became the dictator of Colombia. As a whole, this seems to be a solution, for a time at least, of some of Colombia's problems. But Colombia, like Venezuela, has never gotten beyond the dictator stage in her political development.

Ecuador

Ecuador began her independent career as a province of Greater Colombia after the battle of Pichincha, and this was

her status until 1830, when the Republic of Ecuador was founded by General Juan José Flores, a lieutenant of Bolivar. For fifteen years Flores governed the country, though they were years of rebellion and turbulence. He was elected president three times, in 1831, 1839, and in 1843. Rocafuerte, the leader of the Liberal party, formed an alliance with Flores, and they divided the public functions between them. Rocafuerte was an excellent administrator and did something toward organizing schools, and carried through other useful reforms. Flores, however, was a tyrant who cared nothing for the country except as it gave him authority. He was not an Ecuadorian, though he married a wife from Quito. In 1845 a liberal revolution broke out which was successful in defeating Flores, who on his defeat consented to take $20,000 and a pension and leave the country. The radicals, under the leadership of Urbina, now tried to form a government, and after promulgating two new constitutions—making six in twenty-two years—they were overthrown by Garcia-Moreno, the leader of the Conservative party.

Ecuador, 1830-1860

The influence of Moreno in Ecuador lasted until his assassination in 1875. He was an advocate of strong government, and in the matter of religion and education was a reactionary. His first term ended in 1865, when he was succeeded by three weak presidents. In 1870 he was again elected president for a term of six years, but his assassination in 1875 ended his career. Moreno was a devout Catholic and did everything in his power to restore the church. Indeed, his administrations may be termed clerical dictatorships. All other sects except the Catholic were excluded, while the priests and bishops were to have complete supervision over the schools, colleges, and universities. On the overthrow of Moreno the political history of Ecuador continued on its revolutionary way. The Conservative party was overthrown in 1877 and the Liberal party succeeded to power, only to be overthrown by another revolution in 1883. The last of the dictators of Ecuador was General Alfaro, who overthrew the elected president in 1895 and established himself in power. He inaugurated a stern anti-clerical policy, which was carried

Ecuador Since 1850

to great length by General Plaza, his successor. Civil marriage and divorce were introduced, and all religions were placed on the same footing before the law, while another measure declared all church property to be national and to be rented to the highest bidder. These measures led to another revolution (1905), which was put down by Alfar, who made himself dictator.

Paraguay

The fourth South American state which may be designated as a dictatorship is Paraguay. Paraguay declared its independence in 1811 and became a despotism from the beginning of its independence. Dr. Franca was the first dictator who succeeded in freeing the country not only from Spain but also from Buenos Ayres. At first the government was in the hands of two consuls, one of whom was Franca, but, like Napoleon, Franca soon obtained supreme power. Franca ruled until 1840, the longest dictatorship in South American history. He was succeeded by his nephew, Carlos Lopez, who ruled until 1860, when he in turn was succeeded by his son, Francisco Lopez. Under the latter a war broke out between Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, as allies, against Paraguay. The war lasted from 1864 to 1870, when it came to a close through the death of Lopez. Every male capable of bearing arms was forced to fight, and whole regiments were formed of mere boys twelve to fifteen years old. Women were used as beasts of burden, and when worn out were left by the roadside to die or were killed. The war nearly depopulated the country, the population at the beginning of the war being 1,337,439, while at its close there were but 28,746 men and 106,254 women.

The First Three Paraguayan Dictators, Franca and the Two Lopez, 1811-1870

The war left Paraguay prostrate with a large debt. Since the war Paraguay has been ruled by presidents under a constitution, but the form of government is still that of a dictatorship, rather than a republic. There have been four or five revolutions and civil wars, but none have been serious. The most important events in the history of Paraguay since 1870 have been the completion of Paraguay Central Railroad in 1906 and financial and commercial reforms.

Peru

For more than a year after the overthrow of Spanish power in Peru, Bolivar was dictator, but in September, 1826, he was summoned to Colombia, and was followed by all the Colombian troops. On the departure of Bolivar, General José de Lamar, the commander of the Peruvian troops at Ayacucho, was elected president, only to be deposed in 1829, after a war with Colombia. From 1827 to 1844 Peru was in the grip of the officers who commanded at Ayacucho, three of these generals in turn seizing the supreme power. During this period there were three constitutions. Santa Cruz, the president of Bolivia, succeeded in uniting Peru and Bolivia for a time (1836–1844), when the confederation was broken largely through the influence of Chile.

Early Peruvian Dictators, 1827-1844

The two names which deserve to be remembered in Peruvian history from 1840 to 1880 are General Ramon Castilla (1845–1862) and Manuel Pardo (1872–1876). After a period of civil war Castilla restored order, and his administration marks the beginning of a new period of stable administration. The guano and saltpeter deposits were opened up, which transformed the commercial and financial life of the country. Telegraph lines and the first Peruvian railroad were built, while the financial administration was put on a firm basis. Peru made progress under President Balta (1863–1872), who continued the building of public works and railroads to such an extent that the country became bankrupt. In 1872 Manuel Pardo, an enlightened statesman, became president, and by his wise administration did much for the country, though he could not save it from bankruptcy. He completely reformed the public service, improved educational conditions, reestablished the national guard, and sought to build up a strong alliance with Argentina and Bolivia. Altogether, he deserves to be ranked as one of the great South American leaders since independence.

General Castilla (1845-1852) and Manuel Pardo (1872-1876)

The greatest disaster which has come to Peru since her independence was the war with Chile, which occurred during the years 1879 to 1882. The pretext of the war was a treaty be-

tween Peru and Bolivia, which Chile claimed was directly aimed at her. The real cause, however, was the desire of Chile for the rich guano and nitrate deposits. The military operations were all disastrous to Peru, and after three serious defeats, in 1880 and 1881, the Chilean army entered Lima, which they continued to hold until 1883. The government of Peru was overthrown and it was only with the help of the Chilean authorities that a government was finally organized, and a treaty of peace signed, in October, 1883. The principal provisions of the treaty were the absolute cession by Peru of the province of Tarapaca, and the occupation for a period of ten years of the territories of Tacna and Arca, at the end of which time the final ownership of the territories was to be determined by a popular vote of the inhabitants. In addition, the country retaining possession of the territories was to pay to the other the sum of about $5,000,000.

The Chilean-Peruvian War, 1879-1883

For ten years following the war with Chile the government was largely directed by General Caceres, who had been the commander-in-chief of the Peruvian forces. During this period he was elected to the presidency twice, finally being overthrown by a revolution in 1895. The two following administrations, Pierola (1895–1899) and Romana (1899–1903), were peaceful, on the whole, for the Peruvians were heartily tired of war and revolution, and there were many and serious problems facing the country. There has been a boundary dispute between Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru over a large tract of uninhabited territory in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Amazon, which was finally settled by referring the disputed question to the arbitration of the Spanish crown.

Peru Since the War with Chile

Peru seems to have passed beyond the stage of the military dictator and settled and orderly government has prevailed in recent years. Since 1895 a number of important reform measures have been passed, among them being a modification of the marriage laws and important financial reforms, such as the establishment of the gold standard as the basis of the monetary system. The administration of Pierola was particularly

fruitful in bringing about these reform measures, and these years have been characterized as the Peruvian Renaissance.

Bolivia

Bolivia was the creation of Bolivar, and is named in his honor. A congress was assembled in 1826 to consider the constitution which had been prepared for the new republic by Bolivar. The congress approved it and General Sucre was chosen president for life, though he refused to accept for longer than two years, and then only on condition that two thousand Colombian troops be permitted to remain. Even this precaution was not successful in establishing Sucre, for the next year (1827) he and his forces were driven from the country, and in 1828 Santa Cruz became president. Santa Cruz was a half-breed, and loved display and power. He continued to dominate Bolivian affairs until 1839, and during this period Bolivia enjoyed a more or less stable government. He reorganized the army and restored the public credit. In 1836 he united Peru with Bolivia and had dreams of ruling the old viceregal territories from Lima. Through the interference of Chile, however, this dream was shattered, and by the defeat of the forces of Santa Cruz, in 1838, by a Chilean army the confederation was destroyed. The end of Santa Cruz's influence came in 1845 when he retired to Europe, though later when he attempted to return he was opposed by Chile and Peru.

General Sucre, and Santa Cruz, 1826-1845

The policy instituted by Santa Cruz was followed by his successors, though on his overthrow a liberal constitution was proclaimed, and Negro slavery was abolished. General Ballivian became president in 1840 and continued in power until 1848, when he was overthrown by a revolution, and General Belzu, an ignorant and violent soldier, succeeded in establishing himself as dictator. This was a period of anarchy. Foreign treaties were disregarded, while guerrilla bands were permitted to raid the country unhindered, and "rapine, robbery, and riot" became almost the normal condition. Belzu finally resigned and was followed by his son-in-law, who attempted

Ballivian and Belzu, 1840-1864

to reform the worst abuses, but with little success. On his overthrow General Acha came to the presidency, and attempted to rule for a period, but the country seemed in hopeless confusion.

The tyrant who ruled Bolivia from 1864 to 1871 was Melgarejo, who made no pretense at governing according to the constitution. He in turn was succeeded by General Morales, the successful leader of the revolution which overthrew Melgarejo. In 1876 General Daza became president and ruled until the Chilean war, when on the first defeat he was overthrown. In the Chilean-Peruvian war Bolivia was the ally of Peru and was the chief sufferer, for as a result of her defeat she lost the seacoast provinces, and since that time has been a landlocked nation. Bolivia was occupied by Chilean soldiers, who continued in the country until the treaty of peace was signed. In the war Bolivia not only lost her seacoast but also her rich guano and nitrate fields.

Bolivia and the Chilean-Peruvian War

Since the war Bolivia has enjoyed a period of peace and security, and there has been an earnest attempt on the part of the government to meet the problems which face the country. In 1895 a treaty was made with Chile, and attempts have been made to adjust the question of the two provinces, Tacna and Arica, which were taken during the Chilean war from Bolivia. A long-standing boundary dispute with Brazil over rubber lands has been settled by the cession of a part of the province of Acre to Brazil, on Brazil's payment of a cash indemnity of $10,000,000. Bolivia finally has signed an agreement with Chile giving to Chile permanent possession of the two seacoast provinces, and thus Bolivia has lost all prospect of securing an outlet to the sea.

Recent Problems

READING REFERENCES

For general accounts of the History of the South American Republics since independence *South American Republics*, by Thomas C. Dawson, will be found satisfactory.

History of South America, 1854–1904, by Charles Edmond Akers (1904), will be serviceable for the period covered.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE RISE OF PROGRESSIVE SOUTH AMERICAN STATES

For the purpose of classification we have divided the South American States into two classes, the backward and the progressive. In the first group we have included Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay, while in the second group are Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile. This classification holds good not only in a political sense but also in their economic and industrial development. The states were alike in that they all passed through a time of anarchy.

Classification of the South American States

The causes for this period of anarchy were not always the same, but the events during this period, in each of the states, were more or less similar. One of the great underlying causes for the revolutions in the western and northwestern states was the great variety of races. The half-breeds and the Indians lived outside the chief towns and cities, while the Creoles and other pure-blooded whites controlled the centers of population, and therefore the government. In each republic there always developed two parties, the one with liberal doctrines and the other conservative, but in most instances principle had little part in the struggles, the chief object being simply to gain the control of the government.

Argentina

The early history of the republic of Argentina is filled with trouble and disturbances. On the independence of Argentina in 1816 two parties at once came into existence, the one favorable to strong central government, made up mostly of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and the coast district, while the other party favored a federal government in which the provinces were to be granted a large degree of self-government. We

Early Years of Argentina Independence, 1810-1824

have already noted the confusion in the early years of Argentina independence. The first form of government was the Junta organized in 1810; this was followed by the triumvirate in 1813; and this in turn gave place to a Directory in 1819. Finally, in 1824, the executive power was vested in a president, and Bernardino Rivadavia was chosen for that office.

Rivadavia was inaugurated on February 7, 1825, and continued in office until his resignation in 1827. He represented the Centralist party and governed largely in the interest of Buenos Ayres and the seaboard, and neglected the provinces. During his administration Buenos Ayres engaged in a war with Brazil over Uruguay, as a result of which Brazil gave up her claim to Uruguay and it became an independent republic. On the resignation of Rivadavia he was succeeded by two presidents representing the Federalist party, and as a result of their carrying out the Federalist idea, Argentina was split up into a number of independent or quasi-independent provinces, while the president had little power outside Buenos Ayres. This situation finally led to a civil war out of which came a remarkable leader, Juan Manuel de Rosas. Gradually Rosas gathered all the power into his own hands and in 1835 became dictator.

Rivadavia and His Successors, 1825-1835

The dictatorship of Rosas continued until 1852. He was "the creator of Argentina nationality." He stirred up division among the governors of the states, "stimulated their mutual hatred," and presided over their quarrels, and finally succeeded in building up a strong government. In 1839 a revolution was begun, headed by the leader of the Unitarian party, but by 1841 the revolt was crushed and Lavalle, the leader, captured and shot. In many ways Rosas was reactionary, and attempted to close the rivers to foreign trade. This led to the intervention of France and England. Finally, in 1852, Rosas was overthrown, largely through the instrumentality of one of his former followers, Urquiza. Urquiza succeeded in getting the help of both Uruguay and Brazil, and at the head of an army of twenty-four thousand Brazilians and Uruguayans he

Dictatorship of Rosas, 1835-1852

defeated Rosas, who fled into exile on an English ship. Three times previously had Urquiza attempted to overthrow the tyrant, but each time he had failed, and it was not until outside help was secured that he was at last successful.

During the rule of Rosas the country had made considerable progress. The population of Buenos Ayres had doubled, while as many as thirty thousand English, Irish, and Scotch had come out to engage in sheep-raising, and had mostly settled in Buenos Ayres province. On the overthrow of Rosas the people were heartily sick of war and military rule and were ready to accept a government which would permit industry and commerce to make headway. Urquiza became the director of the confederation, but he displayed no desire to play the role of Rosas. The governors of the provinces met and agreed to call a constitutional convention at Santa Fe, as a precaution against the influence of Buenos Ayres. On May 1, 1853, a constitution was adopted, copied largely after that of the United States, and has continued to be the fundamental law of Argentina. Urquiza was elected the first president under this new constitution, though Buenos Ayres refused to so recognize him. In 1859 Buenos Ayres marched an army to attack the federal government, but was defeated by Urquiza. The next year (1860) the governor of Buenos Ayres swore to support the federal constitution, and by that act entered the confederation.

The Work of Urquiza, 1853-1859

This, however, was not to be the end of the struggle between Buenos Ayres and the provinces. In 1861 hostilities again broke out. This time the provincials were defeated and General Mitre, the governor of Buenos Ayres and the commander of the Buenos Ayres forces, became the president. In 1865 Argentina was forced into the war against Paraguay by the tyrant of Paraguay demanding the right of marching across Argentina territory. Lopez had counted upon receiving aid against Mitre from Urquiza, but in this he was disappointed, as Urquiza refused to revolt against the central government, but in many ways gave the president aid. During Mitre's administration

Administration of General Mitre, 1862-1868

Argentina began that industrial development which has made her in recent years the greatest exporting nation in the world in proportion to population. In 1868 Sarmiento was elected to the presidency at an election which is said to have been "the freest and most peaceful ever held in the republic."

The contest between the city of Buenos Ayres and the provinces reached a crisis between 1870 and 1880. At each election the two parties, one representing the provinces and the other the city, put up their candidates, and bitter contests ensued. As the election of 1880 drew near it became evident that a revolt was imminent. Buenos Ayres had organized military companies, the purpose of which was to train all ablebodied young men for war. The federal government became alarmed and ordered them to disband. In the meantime the outlying provinces had organized, calling themselves the Cordoba League. Their forces were led by General Roca, an Indian fighter of great skill, who was the federal candidate for president. In July Roca forced his way into the capital and the city at once submitted. In October, 1880, Roca became president and at once took steps to make Buenos Ayres the property of the national government, while the provincial capital of Buenos Ayres province was moved to La Plata. This was a most wise step and has since proved an important factor in cementing the nation.

General Roca and Federalization of Buenos Ayres

Following the term of President Roca came a weak and incompetent president, Celman, during whose administration carpet-baggers from the provinces controlled the government. In 1890 Celman was overthrown by a revolution headed by the best men of the country, and since that time Argentina has been blessed by a succession of capable presidents. Since 1890 there have been two serious boundary disputes, one with Brazil and the other with Chile, but fortunately both were settled by arbitration. To commemorate the boundary settlement between Chile and Argentina the two republics united in the erection of the beautiful Christ of the Andes, which stands on the boundary line, at the highest point of the Andes pass, between the two republics.

Recent Argentina History

Chile

O'Higgins became the head of the first independent government of Chile with the title of director-general. He conducted the government without paying much attention to democratic usages, and as a consequence became very unpopular and was compelled to resign in 1823. From 1823 to 1830 there were no less than ten governments, with three different constitutions. From 1827 to 1829 there were five revolutions, and the country was in a most chaotic condition. "The Chilean people went from liberty to license, and from license to barbarism." The man chiefly responsible for the ending of this disorder was Diego Portales, who has been rightly called the founder of the Chilean nation.

Early Period of Chilean Independence, 1817–1830

The career of Portales was short, but his influence was far-reaching. He represented the Conservative party and stood for a strong government. He was a practical business man and never desired to be president. In 1831 General Prieto, a leader of a successful revolution, was elected president, and Portales became his chief minister. Guided by this great minister, Chile rapidly became an ordered country. He destroyed the bandits who infested the country, established the finances on a stable basis, and organized schools. In 1833 a new constitution was adopted, largely the work of Portales, which created a strong executive, and gave power into the hands of the great landholders. There followed now a period of conservative power in which the people had little to do with the government, but as a whole it was a period of advance. In 1836 Chile became involved in a war with Peru and Bolivia, in which Chile was victorious, and added to her territory at the expense of Bolivia. This was also a period of industrial progress and commercial growth. Steamship lines were established along the coast, while railroads, telegraph lines, and wagon roads were constructed. Schools were also built, and a national bank established. The three presidents during this period were Prieto (1831–1841), Manuel Bulnes (1841–1851), and Manuel Montt (1851–1861).

Period of Conservative Power, 1831–1861

The period in Chilean history from 1861 to 1891 may be termed the period of liberal control. During the closing years of the preceding period a strong Liberal party had been growing up, favorable to a larger degree of self-government. General Montt toward the close of his administration had adopted more liberal ideas, and in 1861 Perez became president, to be followed in 1871 by Errazuriz, and he in turn in 1876 by Pinto, all liberal presidents. While all of these presidents were liberals in their party affiliations, yet their liberalism did not lessen the power of the presidents or change the constitution. Some constitutional changes were made, however, one forbidding the reelection of presidents. During these years Chile continued to prosper along all lines. Schools were built, railroads and telegraphs were greatly extended, and prosperity along many lines had free course. The explanation of the peace and order which prevailed in Chile, while the rest of South America was struggling with anarchy, is the fact that Chile adopted a conservative constitution and long-term presidencies. Chilean history is largely free from those petty revolutions and civil struggles which abound in most of the other South American states.

Period of Liberal Control, 1861-1891

The most important event in the history of Chile was the war with Peru and Bolivia (1879–1883). The combined populations of Peru and Bolivia were nearly double that of Chile, and besides, the Chilean treasury was empty, and the country in a poor condition to begin a war. The immediate cause of the war was the treatment of Chilean Nitrate Companies by the Bolivian government, which came to a climax in 1879 with the seizure of the property of the Chilean Nitrate Company at Antofagasta. The first part of the war was indecisive, but when the Chilean navy succeeded in destroying the ironclad vessels of Peru the war broke in Chile's favor. The fighting continued through 1882, but a peace was not signed until 1884, the provisions of which have already been given. Chile changed presidents during the war, General Pinto giving place in 1881 to Santa Maria.

The War with Bolivia and Peru, 1879-1883

Under the administration and urging of President Santa Maria a number of very important reforms were voted. In his message to the Congress in 1883 he urged the passage of a law legalizing civil marriage and the registration of births and the freeing of cemeteries from Catholic control. It was at this time that one of the greatest names in Chilean history came into prominence in the person of the prime minister Balmaceda. These liberal laws were pushed through Congress against the stubborn opposition of the conservative elements and the priesthood. After the passage of the liberal laws the president and his Cabinet were excommunicated, and every effort was made by the Conservative party and the Catholic Church to defeat Balmaceda, who now became the candidate of the Liberal party for the presidency. This opposition, however, was in vain, for Balmaceda was elected in 1886. He planned great things for Chile. Now that Chile had the benefit of the nitrate fields, her treasury was full, and railroad building, erection of public buildings, and the building of ships was the order of the day. In the midst of this ambitious program Balmaceda found that by 1889 a majority of Congress had become opposed to him, and there began to be a strong feeling against the president among the congressmen. This condition went from bad to worse until 1891, when a civil war between the president and Congress suddenly broke out.

Santa Maria and Balmaceda, 1881–1891

The crisis was brought about by Balmaceda appointing a Cabinet made up of personal friends and refusing to dismiss them when Congress passed a vote of censure. Since the days of Portales Congress had practically controlled the presidency, and Balmaceda now determined to free it from that control. Congress refused to pass appropriation bills, and the president continued to collect taxes and maintain the public service. This was the test which was laid down by Congress, and when the president took this position civil war was begun. The army remained true to Balmaceda, while the navy fought on the side of Congress. The revolutionists seized the nitrate fields, and thus had a source of revenue to carry on their operations. The con-

The Great Chilean Civil War of 1891

gressional sea forces could strike where they pleased and could move much faster than the land forces under Balmaceda. In August the revolutionary fleet with their army on board suddenly appeared before Valparaiso; on August 27 the Balmacedists were overthrown, while Balmaceda was forced to take refuge in the Argentina legation, where he remained until September 18, the day on which his term of office expired. On the morning of this day he took his own life. The civil war had cost ten thousand lives and 10,000,000 sterling. The leader of the revolt, Admiral Montt, was elected president at the close of the war, having been chosen by a real popular vote.

Admiral Montt proved to be a good president, and used great tact in dealing with the followers of Balmaceda. During this administration there was trouble between Chile and the United States over a sailor's brawl in Valparaiso, which resulted, after a great deal of excitement, in Chile being compelled to pay the United States $75,000, which has left bad feeling against the United States. In 1896 Errazuriz became president, serving out the term of five years; Riesco, a Liberal, succeeded in 1901 and was followed by Pedro Montt in 1906. There are two parties in Chile, the Liberal and the Conservative, though the Conservatives do not oppose reforms. There have been boundary disputes with Argentina, and Argentina has been Chile's greatest rival along other lines, but fortunately none of these disputes have resulted in war.

Recent Chilean History

Brazil

The independence of Brazil was declared in 1822, when the son of the Portuguese king was proclaimed emperor as Pedro I. The Brazilians were much divided from the first. On the one hand they feared absolutism if they supported the empire, while on the other they feared anarchy if the empire fell. Brazil was also influenced by their neighbors, who were all setting up republican governments, and there arose a Republican party, which was only suppressed with great difficulty. There was also difficulty in procuring a constitution, and Brazil

almost came to grief, but finally an instrument of government, framed by the Council of State, was accepted by the emperor, amidst great rejoicings of the people. As a whole the reign of Pedro I was one of disaster. The war fought over Uruguay went against Brazil, and she was forced, largely through financial reasons, to give up all claim to that province. After the war the ultra-liberals obtained a majority in the Legislature, and this party was hostile to the emperor, and disaffection was everywhere manifest. Agitation in favor of a republic was renewed, and when finally the emperor attempted to retain a Cabinet favorable to absolutism, public indignation meetings were held, which were joined by the troops, and the emperor was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, then a child of five years. The emperor then embarked upon an English ship for Portugal, where he spent the remainder of his life, unfortunate to the end.

The Reign of Pedro I, 1822-1834

Pedro II, who now became the Brazilian emperor, was but a child, and for a period of nine years Brazil was ruled by a regency. During this period the form of government was practically republican, for the regents were chosen by the Legislature. But the government under the regents was not a success. The country was in the grip of powerful cabals, and to end this Pedro II was declared able to rule at the age of fourteen. Pedro II was an enlightened and highly educated man, and was much interested in the development of his empire. He was extremely liberal in his tendencies, and was much interested in the advance of education and the economic affairs of the country.

Pedro II, 1834-1889

During the reign of Pedro II Brazil was drawn into two wars. The first was with Argentina over the old question of Uruguay. In 1849 Rosas, the Argentina dictator, attempted to unite Uruguay with Argentina with the result that Brazil and Uruguay united their forces under Urquiza, and Rosas was overthrown. The other was war with Paraguay, which we have already mentioned in connection with Argentina and Paraguay. The dispute between Paraguay and Brazil arose over the question of the navigation of the Paraguay

Brazil's Wars: War with Argentina, 1849; War with Paraguay, 1855-1870

River. In 1855 Brazil sent a fleet up the river and an agreement was finally reached between the two countries. The dictator of Paraguay, however, continued to throw every obstacle in the way of the fulfillment of the agreement. Paraguay began the invasion of Brazil. Argentina and Uruguay joined forces against the haughty dictator, but so well was Paraguay protected that the combined forces of the three countries were not able to crush him until 1870.

Among the accomplishments in the way of reform, during the reign of Pedro II, was the abolition of the slave trade. This was accomplished in 1853 with the help of Great Britain, who had made a treaty with Brazil as early as 1826 looking to that end. It was not, however, until 1848 that sentiment in Brazil was strongly aroused against the traffic, due to the bringing of yellow fever by imported slaves. Along with the agitation against the slave trade came other movements. Pedro was an abolitionist at heart, and agitation in favor of gradual emancipation began as early as 1864. The number of slaves was steadily decreasing, and it seemed probable that the institution would gradually disappear. In 1856 there were 2,500,000 slaves in Brazil, but by 1873 their number had decreased to 1,500,000, and by 1887 there were only 750,000.

Abolition of the Slave Trade and Anti-Slavery Agitation

During these years there were two parties in the empire, the Liberal and the Conservative, the first standing for election and church reforms, and abolition of slavery, while the latter opposed all of these issues. The party struggles waxed very warm through the seventies and early eighties, and the emperor was harassed beyond measure. By 1887 the agitation in favor of emancipation had become too great to be overcome. Slaves were fleeing from the plantations, and the police refused to aid in their capture. Finally the emperor, sick and failing, had gone to the United States, leaving his daughter Isabel as regent. When Congress met in May, 1888, a bill was introduced providing for immediate and uncompensated emancipation. The law passed at once and was signed by the regent. The result of the passage of the law was the overthrow of the

The Emancipation of the Slaves and the Overthrow of the Empire, 1888

empire. By favoring the bill the regent had alienated the only class favorable to the empire, namely, the slaveholders, and now they turned against the empire. Before this had happened the army and populace of Rio de Janeiro had become imbued with republican doctrines. The two men chiefly responsible for the overthrow of the empire were General Benjamin Constant, a professor in the military school at Rio, who had thoroughly imbued the young officers of the army with republican ideas, and General Diodoro de Fonseca. On November 14, 1888, troops surrounded the government buildings and a republic was declared, and on the sixteenth the emperor and his family were placed on board a vessel and sent to Portugal.

The provinces accepted the change in the government without any disturbance. New governors for the provinces were named by telegraph, while the royal officials turned over their offices to the new officials. The form of government was at first a military dictatorship, which continued for fourteen months, when the new constitution was promulgated. It was modeled after that of the United States, and provided for universal suffrage, separation of church and state, civil marriage, a humane criminal code, and a reformed judicial system.

Establishment of the Republic

The Congress consisted of two hundred and five deputies elected by the states, and a Senate composed of three senators from each state. This constitution went nominally into effect February 24, 1891, though the government continued a military dictatorship for four years, managed by military adventurers and unscrupulous politicians. Finally, in 1893, a revolt was begun against the military dictatorship, headed by the Brazilian navy. The harbor of Rio was blockaded while the president Floriano controlled the army. The war lasted until March, 1894. Floriano, although succeeding in overthrowing the revolt, refused reelection and was succeeded by Prudente. With this administration the real republican period of Brazil begins.

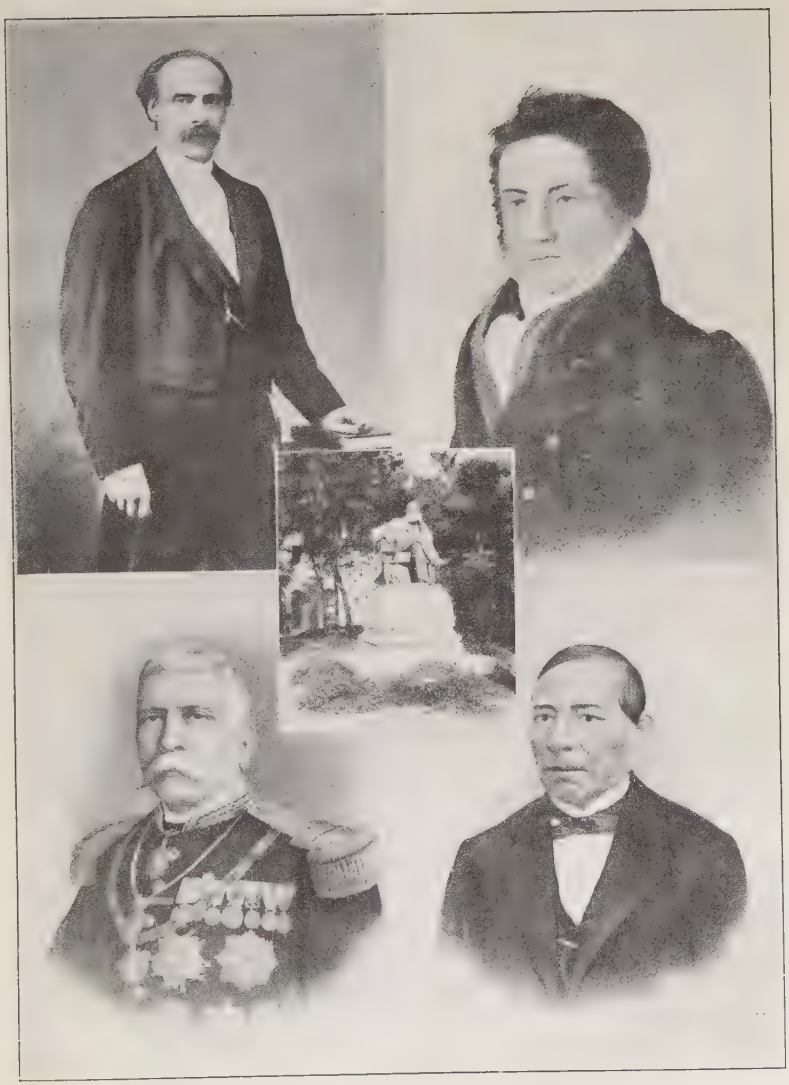
As a whole the history of Brazil has been one of peace as compared to that of the other republics of Latin America.

This has been largely due to the fact that she delayed the establishment of a republic until her people had learned, through experience, something of self-government. Since 1898 Brazil has had a succession of capable presidents, and the country has made both political and material progress.

From the standpoint of economic progress Uruguay belongs to the progressive states, though politically she should be classed with the backward states. Uruguay owes her independence to the fact that she has been since colonial times a disputed territory. In a war between Argentina and Brazil, in 1816–17, Uruguay was annexed to Brazil and remained a province of that country until another war broke out with Argentina in 1825, which resulted in declaring Uruguay an independent republic. On Argentina declaring war against Brazil, in 1825, two Uruguay chiefs, Lavalleja and Rivera, joined forces with Argentina. The Brazilian forces were soon confined to Montevideo, but the war dragged on until 1828, when finally, through the intervention of the British minister, both Argentina and Brazil gave up their claims to the territory and the region was erected into an independent republic. Meanwhile the Uruguayan chiefs, Rivera and Lavalleja, continued their rivalry. When a constitution was adopted by the partisans of Lavalleja, Rivera prepared to make war upon him, but this was prevented by the intervention of Brazil and Argentina. A compromise was finally reached by which Rivera became the first president.

The Independence of Uruguay

No sooner was constitutional government established than civil wars broke out between the two factions, into which Argentina soon entered. Rosas, the Argentina dictator, planned to establish the anti-Rivera chief in power in Uruguay and then to get his aid in incorporating the country with Argentina. These plans were well on the way to accomplishment when France and England upset the plans, French and British vessels blockading the La Plata. At this juncture Urquiza broke with Rosas and, joining forces with the Uruguayans, defeated the Argentina dictator and saved Uruguay independence.



STATUE OF EMPEROR DOM PEDRO II

JOSE BALMACEDA

PORFIRIO DIAZ

ROSAS

BENITO JUAREZ

Colorados and Blancos

The history of Uruguay from the overthrow of Rosas to the present has been but an endless series of civil wars. During the period from 1852 to 1860 the leaders of the party known as the Colorado occupied the presidency, while Flores became the chief figure. In 1860 the other party, known as the Blancos, came into power, and since that time, even down to thè present, these two parties have carried on their party conflicts, often bringing the country into civil war.

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CHAPTER XVII

MEXICO AND THE CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES

The history of Mexico since independence may be conveniently gathered under three names, Santa Anna, Juarez, and Diaz. For thirty years after independence the most important personage in Mexican history was Santa Anna; following Santa Anna came Juarez, who was the dominant influence in Mexico to his death in 1872; and he in turn was followed by Diaz, who remained at the head of the Mexican republic until his overthrow in 1911. From independence in 1821 to the second election of Diaz to the presidency in 1884 Mexico was in a state of continuous warfare. At first glance the never-ending conflicts seem to be simply the struggle of rival generals for control of affairs, but on a closer examination it will appear that the underlying cause was a struggle between the privileged classes and the mass of the population. It was a struggle also between Centralists and Federalists, the former identical with army, the church, and the supporters of despotism, while the latter represented the desire for republican and local self-government.

Santa Anna, Juarez, and Diaz

On the deposition of Iturbide, Mexico was proclaimed a republic with a constitution modeled after that of the United States. Santa Anna, who had led the revolution against the empire, now came into prominence and for two generations filled Mexico with violence. He has been described as ignorant, crafty, and ambitious, a democrat by instinct, but he was neither a general, a statesman, nor even an honest man. Mexico was certainly unfortunate in the type of leadership which he imposed upon her. From 1810 to 1821 Santa Anna had been a member of the army of Spain. Later he was made governor of the province of Vera Cruz, his native province, and it was as governor of this province that he led the revolt against Iturbide. Immediately on the formation of the republic two par-

Santa Anna and the Formation of the Republic of Mexico

ties arose, one the Federalist and the other the Centralist, the latter being split into the Free Masons and the monarchists. The first president under the constitution was Guerrero, the last of the revolutionary leaders. His administration was filled with troubles and insurrections, as well as foreign complications, and in 1831 he was deposed and later murdered. After a period of turbulence Santa Anna became dictator. As dictator he abolished the constitution, suppressed Congress and the state Legislatures, and substituted creatures of his own.

In 1836 a new constitution was framed, and the country was divided into departments, with governors appointed by the central authority. This form of government was no more successful than the federal form, and Santa Anna again came forward in 1841, another constitution was formed, and Nicholas Bravo became president. On the overthrow of the constitution by Santa Anna, in 1835, Texas, a state in the Mexican union, revolted. Texas had been largely settled by people from the United States in consequence of a land grant which had been made to Stephen Austin in 1820 by the Spanish authorities. The people of Texas had come largely from the cotton-growing States of the South and had brought their slaves with them. When, therefore, President Guerrero had abolished slavery they were much displeased, and when finally Santa Anna became dictator the Texans revolted. Fighting continued through the fall of 1835 and the winter and spring of 1836. Santa Anna commanded the Mexican forces, and was guilty of the most barbarous cruelties, slaughtering prisoners at the capture of the Alamo in March, 1836, and a few weeks later at Fannin. Sam Houston commanded the forces of Texas, and at San Jacinto, April 21, 1836, completely defeated Santa Anna, where nearly all the Mexican army was killed, wounded, or captured. Santa Anna was himself captured the next day. He was finally released in 1837, though not until he had signed a treaty recognizing the independence of Texas, which on his return to Mexico he promptly repudiated.

Santa Anna and the Revolt of Texas

Soon after the war with Texas Mexico became involved in a

dispute with France over unsettled claims, and the Mexican coast was blockaded by French warships. The Mexican government was forced to surrender, which resulted in a revolt, and Santa Anna came forward once more, as was stated above. Another dispute over claims with the United States was settled in 1841 by a commission, and when in 1843 a forced loan was raised to pay these claims Santa Anna was again overthrown, this time being forced to go into exile, going to Habana. General Herrera now became president, but was soon overthrown by General Parades in 1846, who undertook to resist the claims of the United States to disputed territory.

Meanwhile Mexico and the United States were drifting toward war. Agitation for the annexation of Texas had been carried on by the slaveholders of the South for several years, and when this was finally accomplished in the last moment of President Tyler's administration, the Mexican minister at Washington withdrew. Mexican affairs were in confusion. The president was suspected of intriguing to overthrow the republic and was compelled to give way to the vice-president, and he in turn was forced out of office by the return of Santa Anna from exile, who assumed the presidency and the conduct of the war, in August, 1846. Santa Anna was allowed to land at Vera Cruz by the American squadron, probably thinking that his presence in Mexico would divide the Mexicans. In the meantime President Polk had ordered General Taylor down to the Rio Grande, where open hostilities soon resulted. After a series of battles in the northern part of Mexico in the autumn of 1848, in which the Americans were always victorious, the Washington government decided to send an expedition from Vera Cruz for the capture of the Mexican capital. General Winfield Scott, the commander of the expedition, captured Vera Cruz on March 29, 1847, and proceeding toward Mexico City, fought the battle of Cerro Gordo on April 17 and 18. Two more battles were fought in September near the capital, and the Americans occupied the city on September 14, 1847. This virtually ended the war.

The War Between Mexico and the United States

One of the results of the defeat of the Mexican forces was the

overthrow of Santa Anna, and the new government now formed appointed commissioners to treat for peace. Negotiations continued until February, 1848, when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. It provided for the ceding to the United States of New Mexico, Texas, and Upper California in return for a payment of $15,000,000 by the United States to Mexico. The United States had begun the war for the purpose of adding additional territory which might be available for the extension of slavery.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848

General Herrera once more became president in 1848 and remained in office until 1851. The financial situation was desperate and attempts were made to restore public credit. Some progress was made through an arrangement with British holders of Mexican stock, but the federal revenue was not large enough to meet the expenses of the government, and things went from bad to worse. Smuggling was commonly carried on, and to add to the confusion, Indian revolts broke out in Yucatan and Sierra Gorda. Herrera was succeeded by Arista as president in 1851, who resigned office in 1853. After a short period Santa Anna was once more recalled to power and was made dictator, and in December assumed the title of "Serene Highness." This action on the part of Santa Anna aroused revolt, demanding the deposition of the dictator and the formation of a new government. Among the leaders in this movement were Generals Alvarez and Comonfort, and working with them were two other men, destined to play a large part in the future history of Mexico, Benito Juarez and Porfirio Diaz. The revolt soon spread throughout the country and Santa Anna was forced to flee in August, 1854.

Mexico from 1848 to 1854

Alvarez became president in 1855, and General Comonfort became minister of war, while Juarez became minister of finance. Juarez is one of the most remarkable men Mexico has produced. Born in the village of Oaxaca in 1806, of unmixed Indian parentage, he studied for the priesthood, later studied law, taught physics in a local college, and finally, going into politics, became governor of his native state in 1847. Juarez

stood for liberal government, and among the things accomplished in the beginning of his administration as minister of finance was the enactment of a law subjecting the clergy to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. One of the curses of Mexico has always been "benefit of clergy." Alvarez soon gave way to Comonfort, while Comonfort was overthrown by a reactionary party under the leadership of Zuloaga, and he in turn was soon followed by Pezuela, and Pezuela by a young and unscrupulous soldier, Miguel Miramon. Juarez became the leader of the Federalist party, but was unable to get possession of the capital, being twice defeated outside the city. Two rival governments were now set up, one at Vera Cruz under Juarez, who was recognized by the United States and permitted to draw supplies, while the reactionary government was established at the capital. A situation now prevailed in Mexico similar to that of 1913. Outrages were continually committed by both parties against foreigners and there were strong reasons for foreign intervention. Early in 1859 President Buchanan recommended to Congress that the United States intervene, but Congress failed to respond. In December of 1859 the M'Clean-Juarez treaty was signed giving the United States a sort of disguised protectorate over Mexico, but it failed of ratification by the United States Senate.

Mexico from 1854 to 1861

The crisis in Mexican affairs came in 1860, when Miramon, under the plea of necessity, seized $630,000 which had been left under seal at the British legation for English bondholders. The following month Miramon's government was overthrown by the forces of Juarez, and Juarez entered the capital in January, 1861. Juarez, however, did nothing to satisfy the claims of the European states, and outrages on the persons and property of foreigners continued. Finally, in October, 1861, an agreement was reached between Great Britain, France, and Spain to take steps to intervene in Mexico. Both England and Spain had legitimate claims, but the French claims were based upon the claims of Jecker, a Swiss banker who had loaned Miramon $750,000, which Miramon secured by handing over

European Intervention in Mexico, 1861

$15,000,000 worth of bonds. Jecker failed and soon afterward Miramon was overthrown. Most of Jecker's creditors were French, and Napoleon III naturalized Jecker by imperial decree, while Jecker had won over certain influential Frenchmen, by corrupt means, to support his claims. Vera Cruz was occupied by Spanish troops in December, 1861, while Great Britain landed seven hundred marines. France, however, sent over a large fleet, and proceeded to seize the Gulf ports. It soon became evident to both Spain and England that France was prepared to go beyond the agreement, and they accordingly withdrew their forces in March, 1862.

France now sent thirty thousand troops and proceeded to conquer the country. Puebla was captured after a siege, on February 17, 1863, and Mexico City fell on June 7. At this juncture a provisional government, nominated by the French minister, was formed, which proceeded to declare for monarchy, and offered the crown to Maximilian, the brother of the emperor of Austria. A year later Maximilian arrived, bringing with him all the etiquette belonging to European courts. More unpopular even than Maximilian with the Mexican people were the troops which were brought from Europe to form the nucleus of his army. Juarez continued his government in the north, while Diaz led a revolt in the southwest. The country was torn by guerilla warfare. Republican bands sprang up all over the country. Maximilian issued a decree in October, 1865, stating that Mexican guerillas when captured would be tried by court martial and shot.

Maximilian's Empire

With the end of the American Civil War the United States took action at once on the Mexican situation. Secretary Seward had continued to protest against the aggressions of the French from the first, but as the Washington government was fully occupied with its own Civil War it was impossible to follow up the protests. United States troops were now sent to the Rio Grande, and Napoleon III at once promised the withdrawal of his forces. Maximilian was now deserted by the power which had placed him upon his throne, and he contemplated abdica-

The Overthrow of the Empire

tion. The power of Juarez and his government spread rapidly, and in May, 1867, Maximilian, with a small force, was captured at Queretaro, together with Miramon and Mehia, two Mexican generals. They were tried by court martial on June 14, and shot June 19, despite the protests of European governments and prominent individuals, including Garibaldi and Victor Hugo.

Juarez now became president and continued in office until his death in 1872. These were years of continued revolution, a clerical insurrection breaking out in 1869 and a republican in 1870. At the second election of Juarez, in 1871, there were three candidates, Diaz and Tejada, besides Juarez, and no candidate receiving a majority, the election was thrown to Congress and Juarez was elected. The followers of Diaz refused to recognize Juarez and raised a revolt, which continued until the death of Juarez in 1872. On the death of Juarez he was succeeded by the president of the Supreme Court, Lerdo de Tejada. Under his administration laws were passed attacking the supremacy of the Catholic Church, and Protestant missions were established. In 1873 the Vera Cruz and Mexico Railroad was opened, and as a whole these were years of economic advance. Toward the close of his administration Tejada was suspected of aiming at a dictatorship and Diaz attempted to raise a rebellion in the north against him. This was, however, a failure, but after the reelection of Tajada, Diaz was successful in starting a revolt in Oaxaca, which succeeded in overthrowing the government, and Diaz was declared president on May 2, 1877.

Juarez President, 1867-1872. Tejada, 1872-1876

The first term of President Diaz was from 1877 to 1880, when he was succeeded by President Gonzales (1880–1884). In 1884 Diaz was again elected president, and from that date to 1910 he continued in office. Under the first administration of Diaz, and under President Gonzales, diplomatic relations were restored with both European and South American States, and a beginning was made in financial and economic retrenchment. After 1884 the constitution was so amended as to allow the continued reelection of Diaz, and down to 1910 Mexico was

without political strife. Diaz's policy may be summed up in these words: he put down disorder with a strong hand; enforced the law; fostered railroad building and native manufactures; started new industries and gave them tariff protection; promoted education; protected the forests; encouraged colonization; and placed the national credit on a sound basis. The first task of Diaz was the pacification of the country. This was accomplished by means of the guardias rurales, or mounted police, which was composed of the class who in former days drifted into brigandage. Maintaining internal order was also greatly aided by the extension of railroads and telegraphs. The foreign policy of President Diaz was as successful as the home policy. Active measures were taken to establish arbitration for the Central American States; he accepted the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan dispute, though suggesting that its maintenance should be undertaken by all the American powers rather than be left to the United States alone. Friendly relations were maintained with the United States to the end of his long term of office.

The Administrations of Porfirio Diaz, 1877-1910

Under federal and democratic forms President Diaz exercised a strictly centralized and personal rule. In 1904 the vice-presidency, which had been previously abolished, was revived owing to the advancing age of Diaz. Don Ramon Corral was elected to that office and it became practically certain that if Diaz died in office he would be succeeded by Corral without difficulty. The dictatorship of Diaz had been carried on largely in the interest of the large landholders. In 1896 a Land Law was passed which permitted the denunciation of all land not held by a legal title. Most of the small holdings were held by peons, who knew nothing of titles, and in most cases had occupied the land for generations, undisturbed. As a result of this law, great tracts of land passed into the possession of the great landholders while the peons were evicted by federal soldiers. The revolution which resulted in the overthrow of Diaz and his system was largely a peon revolution and the struggle has been in a sense a "war for the land." There was

Causes of the Revolution in Mexico of 1910

also a large and growing discontent over the dictatorial power exercised by Diaz and a desire to restore real republican government.

The leader in the revolution which overthrew Diaz was General Madero, and he was finally able to force President Diaz to resign on May 25, 1911, and later was elected constitutional president. No sooner was he established in office than he was murdered by the tools of General Huerta, one of the generals in the federal army. This method of gaining office naturally shocked the American people and President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta's government. General Carranza now came forward as an advocate of constitutional government, avoiding the important question of the distribution of land, which had been one of the promises made by Madero. Carranza finally succeeded in overthrowing Huerta and was elected president. In February, 1917, a new constitution was adopted, following in general the constitution of Juarez of 1857, and since that time Mexico has become largely pacified, though Pancho Villa and his band of bandits are still at large, operating in the northern part of Mexico.

The Revolution of 1910-1911

Central American States

On the formation of the Republic of Mexico in 1824 the Central American states resolved to set up an independent government, and a federation modeled after the United States was the result. On the 10th of April, 1825, a constitution was adopted, and General Manuel Joseph became the first president. In the confederation Guatemala had the chief influence, and the majority of members in the lower house. Salvador objected to the control of Guatemala, and an endless series of petty conflicts thus began. The constitution was a most liberal document, and is remarkable for the fact that it was the first one adopted by the Latin republics which abolished slavery. The government proceeded to pass a number of liberal laws. Convents were suppressed, secular priests were allowed to marry in Honduras, and in 1832 religious toleration

Central America Under the Confederation, 1824-1838

was declared. The clerical party, however, fought against the constitution and the reforms instituted. The next year after the formation of the union rebellions broke out in Nicaragua, and later in Guatemala. The man chiefly responsible for the maintaining of the union was Morazan, who in 1834 defeated the Guatamaltecs and transferred the seat of government to San Salvador. The Oligarchic party of Guatemala continued to make war upon the federation, and finally in 1838 it had been practically destroyed.

In 1842 a second federation was formed, but this was no more successful than the first had been and was soon dissolved. Morizan, after the overthrow of the first confederation, had fled from the country, and on his return had been arrested and shot by his enemies. This was a great blow to the Liberal party in Central America. A third attempt at a confederation was made in 1847, Honduras, San Salvador, and Nicaragua uniting. Costa Rica, separated by high mountains from the other states, had taken no part in the second confederation, and was not a member of the third. The three states in the confederation desired Guatemala to join them, and a war begun to compel her to do so. General Carrera, of Guatemala, however, defeated the federalists, and gradually the third confederation came to an end as a result of continuous civil strife.

The Second and Third Attempts at Confederation, 1842, 1847

In 1846 the United States entered into a treaty with Colombia (then New Granada) by which the right of transit was given to the United States over the Isthmus of Panama. Under this treaty there was organized in 1850 the Panama Railroad Company, made up of United States citizens, and by 1855 the railroad was in operation. Previous to this treaty with Colombia the United States had made an agreement with Nicaragua looking toward the building of a canal by way of Lake Nicaragua. This led to some complications with Great Britain, because of her claims to territory occupied by the Mosquito Indians, through which the canal was to pass. This was finally settled by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty between the

The Panama Railroad and the First Steps Toward a Canal Across the Isthmus

United States and Great Britain, which was signed in 1850. The treaty provided for the joint control of the canal by the United States and Great Britain.

About this time an American adventurer by the name of William Walker got control of Nicaragua. He had gone to California in 1850 in the gold rush, and in 1853 had attempted a filibustering expedition into Mexico, which, however, was a failure. On his return to the East he conceived the idea of conducting a similar expedition into Nicaragua. He landed in the country in 1855 with seventy men, and soon succeeded, through the aid of the American consul, in securing for himself the appointment as commander-in-chief of the army. From this post he soon advanced to the presidency, and for two years maintained himself in Nicaragua as president. His original plans had been to form a military government and proceed to the conquest of all Spanish America. At this time the slaveholders in the South were planning the extension of slavery and the adding of slave states to the Union by seizing Cuba and other states to the south. Walker, however, on having secured power, attempted to keep it for himself, and this proved his undoing. He was deserted by his friends in the United States when they learned of his purpose, and he was driven out by an insurrection in Nicaragua in 1857. He made two other attempts to regain his power in the country, but was captured in 1860 and put to death as a pirate.

The Invasion of William Walker and His Filibusters

After the dissolution of the confederation the Clerical party controlled affairs in Central America for a number of years, under the leadership of Carrera, of Guatemala. After his death in 1865, the Liberal party came back to power, and even in Guatemala, the most conservative of all the Central American States, the Liberal party ruled. The period since the federation has been one of anarchy and confusion in all of the states except Costa Rica and Salvador, both of which have had, as a whole, a peaceful government. In Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua conflict and revolution have been the rule rather than the exception.

There have been at least two attempts in recent years to

revive the confederation. In 1885 the president of Guatemala led a movement to restore federal unity, but the attempt failed, and the promoter, President Barrios, lost his life. Again in 1895 there was formed The Greater Republic of Central America, in which Nicaragua, Salvador, and Honduras actually united and maintained the union until 1898. It was hoped that Guatemala and Costa Rica would also unite, and provision was made in the constitution for their admission, but before that was accomplished Salvador dissolved the union by her withdrawal.

Later Attempts at Confederation, 1885 and 1895

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STATES

The form of government which has been adopted throughout Latin America is republican, and however unsuccessful it may have been in practice, yet the people are thoroughly wedded to it in theory and will tolerate no other. Three times have monarchies been established in Latin America, twice in Mexico and in Brazil once, but all were failures. The chief reason for the lack of stability in Latin-American government seems to be lack of experience in self-government, as well as a lack of certain characteristics which self-government tends to create in the individual. In the first place, the Latin Americans have little conception of toleration in politics. They have all been educated in the Roman Catholic Church and have brought "into politics the absolutism of religious dogmas." One party thinks of the other as completely wrong, while they have the absolute right on their side, hence their adversaries must be annihilated. "The hatred of one's opponents is the first duty of the politician," and so it is only by force and violence that a party can come into power. It may be said with truth that there is no such thing as public opinion in Latin America. Elections give no opportunity for the free expression of the desires of the people, because they are conducted under the control of the government and the party in power; hence the only way for one party to replace another is by revolution. Revolution under such conditions seems to be a necessary form of political activity.

Governmental Characteristics and Conceptions of the Latin American

Latin Americans are excellent theorists and constitution makers. On paper their instruments of government are almost perfect. Their ideas of justice and liberty are high, as high indeed as those of the Anglo-Saxon republics of the north. Their constitutions are written in solemn and impressive language

Latin American Constitutions

in which Divine approval is invoked, but a student of Latin-American politics will soon learn that it is one thing to make a constitution and quite another to carry it out and to abide by it.

There are two types of republics prevailing in Latin America: centralized and federal. Under the first come Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the republics of Central America as well as the three island republics. Under the federal form come the larger states of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and Mexico. All of the constitutions separate the departments of government more or less distinctly into executive, legislative, and judicial. They all have elective presidencies, the president generally holding office for a period of four to six years. The legislative branch of the governments consists generally of a Congress of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The judicial department is provided with a Supreme Court, with appointive judges, while the provinces or states have special courts of their own. The constitutions generally recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of the state, though in some the establishment or prohibition of any form of religion is prohibited. In all the states education is free and compulsory.

General Character of Latin American Governments

The Federal Republics

The Mexican government was carried on under the constitution of 1857 until the overthrow of President Diaz in 1911. Under this constitution the president held office six years, and was assisted by a Cabinet of eight secretaries, who were appointed by the president and were directly responsible to him. Congress was made up of two houses, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, the former consisting of fifty-six members, two from each state and the federal district, and were elected indirectly for a term of four years. There were two hundred and thirty-three members of the Chamber of Deputies, also elected indirectly for a term of two years, one for every forty thousand inhabitants or fraction exceeding twenty thousand. Suffrage was possessed by all citizens of eighteen years

of age if married and twenty-one years if not married. The executive departments were Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice, Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Promotion, Communications and Public Works, Finance, War and Marine. The judicial organization consisted of a supreme court, three circuit courts, thirty-two district courts, and various other state, territorial, and federal district courts.

Mexican Local Government

Mexico is divided into twenty-seven states and three territories and a federal district. Each state has a governor elected in the same manner as the president. There are also state Legislatures and courts. The governors of territories are appointed by the president, while the federal district is governed by three officials, also appointed by the president. The states and territories are divided into municipalities, each of which elects its own officials.

The Constitution of 1917

The recent constitution of Mexico adopted in February, 1917, follows the broad lines of the constitution of 1857. The only changes are made with the object of making it applicable to modern conditions. Among the restrictions placed in the constitution are those relating to the ownership of land. Foreigners are not to be allowed to mix in any manner in the political affairs of the country, while only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies are to have the right to acquire possession of lands or waters, or to exploit mines or water rights. Foreigners may obtain such rights by appearing before the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and agreeing to be considered as Mexicans in respect to the titles involved, and they shall also agree not to invoke the protection of their governments. The new constitution also provides for the strict government regulation of the church and all ministers of whatever cult must be Mexicans by birth. Marriage is to be considered as a civil contract and education is to be conducted by lay teachers.

Argentina

The present constitution of the Argentine Republic was adopted in 1853 and was closely modeled after that of the

United States. The legislative power is vested in a national Congress of two houses, a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the former with thirty members, the latter with one hundred and twenty. Senators are elected for a term of nine years by the Legislatures of the several provinces. Deputies are elected by direct vote of the people, one for every thirty thousand people. The president and vice-president are elected as in the United States, and serve for a term of six years. The vice-president is also the president of the Senate. The president must be a Roman Catholic and possess an income of $2,000 a year. The salary received by the president is $31,680 (72,000 pesos), while members of Congress receive $5,000 a year. The president is assisted by eight ministers, who form his Cabinet. The departments are Interior, Foreign Affairs and Worship, Treasury, Justice and Public Instruction, War, Navy, Agriculture, and Public Works. The judiciary is composed of a supreme court, four courts of appeal, and courts of first instance. Each province has its own judiciary machinery.

The Federal Government of Argentina

Argentina has fourteen provinces, ten territories, and a federal district. The governors of the provinces are elected by the people, while the governors of the territories are appointed by the president, as is also the mayor of the Federal district. Military service is compulsory and an army of 20,000 is maintained, while in case of mobilization an army of 120,000 is available. Argentina has a navy of forty vessels and a naval reserve of 25,000 men.

State and Local Government

Brazil

The constitution adopted on the overthrow of the empire is still in force in Brazil. Like the Mexican and Argentina constitutions, the government is divided into three distinct departments. The Senate and Chamber of Deputies make up the legislative branch. The Senate is composed of three senators from each state and three from the federal district, elected by direct vote for a term of nine years. The Chamber of Deputies is made up of members elected in the same manner as the senators, one for every seventy thousand people, and

serve three years. All male citizens over twenty-one are entitled to vote. Congress meets once a year, on May 3, and remains in session four months, but it may be called in extra session by the president. The executive government consists of the president, assisted by a Cabinet of seven members appointed by the president and responsible to him. Both president and vice-president are elected for a period of four years, by direct vote, and may not be immediately reelected. The judicial part of the government consists of a supreme court and a federal court for each state. The supreme court judges are appointed as in the United States and hold office for life.

Federal Government in Brazil

Brazil has twenty states, one territory, and a federal district. Like the other federal republics, a large degree of self-government is left to the states. Military service is compulsory for all ablebodied men between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five. The war strength of the army is 300,000 men, and Brazil has one of the strongest navies among Latin-American states, with fifty-five vessels and nearly 10,000 men. The post office is well established with nearly 4,000 offices and a federal telegraph with over 20,000 miles of line.

Local Government and Military Organization

Venezuela

The constitution of Venezuela is the latest of the federal instruments of government, having been adopted on the overthrow of Castro in 1909. It is also the most conservative of the federal constitutions, in that the president is elected by the national Congress and not by a direct vote of the people. Senators are also elected by the state Legislatures. Senators must be thirty years old and native Venezuelans, while Deputies must be twenty or more years of age and natives of Venezuela. Congress meets every year for a session of seventy days only, and this time may not be extended. The president holds office for four years, and is not eligible for immediate reelection. Another feature of the Venezuelan constitution is the Council of Government, composed of one member from each district, a district being composed of two states. These officials are

General Government of Venezuela

elected by Congress and serve for one year only. The president's cabinet is composed of seven members appointed in the usual way. The departments are Interior, Foreign, Finance and Public Credit, War and Marine, Promotion, Public Works, and Public Instruction. There are a supreme court and a cassation court, as well as courts of appeal and minor courts.

Venezuela is divided into twenty states, two territories, and a federal district. Each state has its own governor and legislative assemblies, as well as local courts. The states are divided into districts and the latter into municipalities. Venezuela maintains a small standing army and a small navy, while compulsory military service is demanded of ablebodied males.

Local Government

The Centralized Republics

The centralized republics of South America are Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Paraguay. As far as their national governments are concerned they are similar to the federal republics. The difference comes in the state governments. All have national legislative bodies composed of two houses, elective presidents, and national supreme courts. Bolivia and Peru have provisions for two vice-presidents. Uruguay elects her president by the general Assembly, while Chile elects by electors, and Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia by direct vote.

General Characteristics of the Governments of the Centralized Republics

Chile is divided into twenty-three provinces and a national territory. These in turn are divided into departments, districts, and municipalities. The provinces are governed by intendents, who are appointed by the president, while the departments are governed by governors, and the districts by inspectors. Bolivia is likewise divided into departments and they into provinces, provinces into cantons, and the cantons into municipalities. The departments are governed by prefects, who receive their appointment from the president; Uruguay is also divided into departments which are subdivided into sections and districts.

Local Governments in the Centralized Republics

Governments of the Central American States

The governments of the Central American states follow the centralized system. The various republics are divided into departments, at the head of which are governors, appointed by the central government. With the exception of Nicaragua, the legislative power is vested in a single chamber elected by the people. Each republic has a president elected by direct vote, who holds office from four to six years. Like all the other Latin republics, the three departments of government are distinctly divided into executive, legislative, and judicial.

Governments of the Island Republics

The two republics on the island of Haiti are also centralized states. Each has a legislative assembly composed of two houses, a president with a cabinet, and a supreme court. Haiti is divided for local administration into five departments, while Santo Domingo has twelve provinces. The government of Cuba is modeled after that of the United States, and is the only one of the small republics which has a federal form of government, though, strictly speaking, it is a combination of the centralized and federal form. The Cuban province is less important than the state of the American Union. The president is elected by electors; Congress has two houses; justice is administered by courts of various grades, as in the United States. Cuba has six provinces, each of which elects its own governor, though the president may interfere, if necessary, in the local government, such interference being subject to a review of the courts.

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CHAPTER XIX

RACES AND SOCIETY IN LATIN AMERICA

The People of Latin America

The race composition in Latin America has been much misunderstood. Many still think of Latin Americans as largely of European stock. But the people of South America are not properly described as of European stock, for by far the largest proportion of the population inhabiting the various countries of Latin America are of native stock. The mixing of the Spaniards and Portuguese with the native Indian population began with the colonization period and has continued without interruption until the present. Hence there is a very large half-breed, or mestizo class, which is particularly dense in those sections of Latin America where the early colonizers came in contact with a comparatively high type of native civilization. So we must expect to find the largest number of mestizos in the western coast republics of South America, and in Central America and Mexico, for it was here the Spaniard came in contact with Aztec and Inca civilizations.

The People of Latin America Not Pure-Blooded Europeans

Besides this large half-breed class there are many full-blooded Indians still to be found in Latin America. Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, as well as Brazil, have large numbers of full-blooded Indians living within their borders. At least thirty-five per cent of Mexico's population are of this class, while Peru has sixty per cent. In Ecuador at least two thirds of the population are Indian, in Bolivia more than half, while Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela have from fifteen to twenty per cent Indians. The east coast countries of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay have a smaller proportion, though Brazil has perhaps the largest number of wild Indians. Brazil's proportion is not more than ten per cent, while Argentina has not more than ten thousand all told, and Uruguay has a still smaller proportion.

The Indians

Besides these two large classes in the population of Latin America, there is in Brazil especially a large Negro population, both full-blooded and mixed, amounting to at least twenty per cent of the whole. The mixture of the Indian with the Negro is known as the zambo, and is found in Brazil and Venezuela particularly. The presence of these large classes of ignorant people in the Latin-American states accounts for their lack of stability in government. When we know of the prevalence of the Indian in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico, we are prepared for the statement that these are the most backward of the Latin-American states.

In all the republics it is the small white population which rules. In considering this class we must first of all remember that they are themselves a complex race and that they have certain Oriental characteristics. They are full of imagination; far more so than the North American. They are likewise much more sentimental and impulsive. They have high ideals, which they seldom succeed in putting into practice. They are an exceedingly polite race, and even the poorest peon is a gentleman toward others. In this respect the Latin American has much to teach the North American. Men embrace when they meet or part, and their family life is most affectionate. They care little for money for money's own sake, and express contempt for those who exalt the dollar above everything else, as many in this country seem to do. Human life is held cheap among them, due to their long contact with subject races, over whom they have always exercised power of life and death. They are generous toward their friends, but they seem to have little regard for the public good. The Latin American responds quickly to anything said or done which shows appreciation of his country and its ways, but resents criticism which comes from those whom he considers no farther along in civilization than himself.

Characteristics of the Ruling Race in Latin America

Judged by the North American, the moral standards of the South American are low. In those South American states where the Indian races are in the majority moral standards

are liable to be drawn from the Indian and not from the European stock. The Indian or half-breed mother gives to her child her own moral standard rather than that of the white father. Marriage is ignored to an alarming extent in South America. In Lima fifty-one per cent of the children born are illegitimate, and this percentage, while not the same throughout all of the republics, is nevertheless very large everywhere. One of the reasons given why the young men of South America are so much occupied with sex thoughts is that they have so little to do. They have no athletics, games, or even business, to occupy their attention. As a consequence family life is not developed. There is very little marriage among the Cholos of Bolivia, which is true also of the Indians in all of the west coast countries. Another of the weaknesses of the South American is alcoholism, which is said to be the worst in the world in Chile. The Indians especially are hard drinkers, though this is not so true of the people of the east coast countries.

Morals of the Latin Americans

The weak points in the character of the South American may be summed up in these words—mutual distrust, excessive pride, self-indulgence, indolence, and want of persistence. Mutual distrust is found everywhere. One of the reasons for the turbulence which prevails in the political life of the Latin Americans is their distrust of the motives of others. They seem almost incapable of working together in a common work for the common cause. Joint stock companies often fail for this reason. One political party has no faith in the motives or principles of the other. There is no such thing as student activities in the universities, no university spirit, no class feeling, no fraternities. This mutual distrust is carried into every phase of life, and is one of the weaknesses most difficult to overcome, for without faith of people in one another it would be impossible to develop modern business or stable government.

Character of the Latin Americans

Among the people of pure white blood every form of bodily exercise is avoided, and for this reason there is a great poverty of physique among both males and females. Girls are taught

nothing about housekeeping, while the young men idle away their time. The South American seems to have no shame about giving up. They are good beginners but poor finishers, and the sneer of "quitter" is never heard. A recent traveler in South America has noted the great number of unfinished monuments in Bolivia, an indication of this characteristic, or rather failing, of the Latin American.

The Mestizos

The mestizo, the result of the mixture of the white and Indian races, tends to increase the most rapidly, while the pure-blooded Indian is on the decrease. Physically the mestizo is undersized, smaller than either of the races from which they have sprung. They are a Spanish-speaking people and nominally Christian, but they are superstitious, and in most cases extremely apathetic. In spite of their backward condition, however, there are many who consider the mestizo as the coming race in Latin America, especially in the west coast region, and the development of these countries seems to depend largely upon the development of this half-breed race. The proportion of mestizos in the various republics is as follows: Mexico, 50 per cent; Peru, 30; Brazil, 30; Ecuador, 25; Bolivia, from 30 to 40; Colombia, 40; Venezuela, 70; Chile, 60; while Argentina and Uruguay have the smallest proportion, only a small fraction of their respective populations belonging to this class.

The Negro Element

Ranking lowest in the social scale come the Negro and zambo, the latter the result of the mixing of the Indian and the Negro races. Ecuador and Peru have a few thousands of this class, while Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil have a much larger number. In Colombia thirty-five per cent of the population is represented by the Negro and the mixtures of Negroes with other races. Venezuela has perhaps a ten-per-cent Negro population, while in Brazil the Negro element is larger and more important than in any of the Latin-American states. This is due to the fact that slavery continued to exist in Brazil longer than in any of the other states, and also to the fact that race mixture has gone on there with less hindrance from the beginning.

Latin America as a whole has many races and many castes,

and to procure the best results in a republic, unity of race, language, and ideals must somehow be achieved. So far Latin America has been governed by the pure white race, while the Indian and the mestizo have been practically serfs. Meanwhile the mestizo has gone on increasing, while the Indian is decreasing. The future of at least the largest number of Latin-American states seems to lie with the mestizo.

The present population of the various Latin-American states is as follows: Brazil is the most populous, with nearly 25,000,000 of people; coming next to Brazil in point of population is Mexico, with from 15,000,000 to 17,000,000; Argentina ranks third, with an estimated population of between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000; Chile's population is nearly 3,500,000; Peru's is estimated at from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000, while the populations of Bolivia and Ecuador approach 2,000,000 each; like most of the other Latin-American states, the populations of Venezuela and Colombia can only be estimated, as there has been no careful census in either country in recent years; Colombia's population cannot exceed 4,000,000, while that of Venezuela is not more than 2,750,000. Uruguay has about 1,000,000 people, while Paraguay has something less than 1,000,000. The total population of the Central American states does not exceed 5,000,000, distributed about as follows: Guatemala, 2,000,000; Honduras, 553,000; Nicaragua, 600,000; San Salvador, 1,700,000; Costa Rica, 386,000; Panama, 336,000. Cuba has a population of 2,162,000, while the two republics in the island of Haiti have a population of about 2,000,000 in the Republic of Haiti and 673,611 in the Dominican Republic. The total population of the whole of Latin America is nearly 75,000,000.

Population

European Population

The countries to which most of the European peoples immigrate are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. Italians have come out to South America in great numbers, constituting the largest single contribution in recent years to the pure white population of the three eastern republics. The total immigration into Argentina from 1857 to 1908 was 4,250,000, of whom

Foreign Population and Immigration to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay

1,750,000 were Italians; 670,000 Spaniards; 40,000 British; 26,000 Germans; 25,000 Swiss, and 20,000 Belgians. In the state of São Paulo, Brazil, there is a compact colony of over 1,000,000 Italians. Immigration and colonization in Brazil are increasing. The German population in 1906 was estimated at from 350,000 to 500,000. They were situated mostly in the southern states. In 1911 there were 134,000 immigrants registered in Brazil. Of these 47,764 were Portuguese; 22,820 Italians; 13,900 Russians; 4,220 Turks; 5,850 British, while Spaniards, French, and Swedes number some thousands each. Of the total population of Brazil only seven per cent, however, are foreign. Chile has made considerable effort to secure European immigration. Germans have settled in the southern part of the country, where they have built several important towns and agricultural communities, though the actual number of Germans in the country is not large. In 1895 the foreigners in the Chilean population were not more than 75,000. In 1907 the immigration to Uruguay included 26,000 Italians, 22,000 Spanish, and over 2,000 each of British, Germans, and French.

Mexico's foreign population does not number more than 60,000, with Spaniards the most numerous, and Americans next. Peru and Venezuela have a small foreign population, and in the latter country there are a considerable number of Asiatics, Chinese, and Japanese. One of the most important problems in Latin America is the obtaining of immigrant labor. Argentina and Brazil maintain immigration service, and such inducements are offered as free lodging, food, and medical service for five days, free transportation into the interior, and land at a nominal price. One of the chief obstacles to immigration is the fact that the land along the railroads and about the seaports is held in immense estates, and it is very difficult to obtain small holdings. Chile provides free passage for immigrants from European ports, and a free grant of land of ninety-four acres for each head of a family and forty-four additional acres for each son over ten years of age. In addition a loan is obtainable

Problems and Difficulties of Immigration

from the government during the first year, as well as other aids. Peru is also very desirous of immigration, but so far promotion of colonization has been left to private enterprise. Mexico also offers inducements for immigrants, such as free transports of immigrants to the interior, as well as free tools, seed, and other helps.

So far the great body of immigrants to Latin-American countries has come from the countries of southern Europe, while people from northern Europe have not come out in any great numbers. In 1901 the total number of Italians in South America was about 1,750,000, of which number at least 1,600,000 were in Argentina and Brazil. Present conditions in Latin America are not favorable for immigration from the British Isles or from America for the reason that educated men of small capital will find little opportunity in these countries, unless they receive a salary. The work in shops and stores is done in Latin America by the middle-class natives at a very low wage. The English workman coming to Latin America would be compelled to work among half-breeds, which the average English and American will hardly consent to do. If suitable conditions could be secured for this class of immigration it would no doubt prove greatly beneficial for those countries.

Unfavorable Conditions for American and English Immigration

The greatest social problem which confronts Latin-American countries is the uplifting of their working classes. Agricultural and mining labor throughout these countries is made up of half-breeds or Indians. Mexico has 15,000,000 peons, Indians, and half-breeds. In Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela the great mass of the population is of this same class, while Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina are little better off in this respect. Part of this problem may be solved by increased education. Until intelligence becomes more widespread real democracies are impossible. "The power of a people to help itself and throw off the oppressions of an upper class is in proportion to the stage of its education."

The Problem of Uplifting the Working Classes

The Spanish colonists were builders of cities, and the cities of Latin America to-day are developed far beyond the country

districts. The largest of the Latin-American cities is Buenos Ayres, the capital of Argentina, which is the second Latin city in the world. The population is over 1,500,000. The city is largely built of brick covered with stucco, the architecture being Italian, with an excess of ornament. In many respects Buenos Ayres is like Chicago, being the great grain-shipping port of South America. Rosario is the second city in Argentina, situated some one hundred and seventy miles up the Parana, with a population of 250,000. Other Argentina cities, ranging from 30,000 to 90,000 inhabitants, are La Plata, Cordoba, Mendoza, and Tucuman. Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, is also an important shipping point with over 300,000 people and is one of the most pleasing of South American cities. In many respects the most beautiful city in Latin America is Rio de Janeiro, situated on one of the best harbors in the world, with snow-clad mountains in the background. The population of Rio is nearly 1,000,000. Other large and important Brazilian cities are Bahia, with some 200,000 people; São Paulo, with 350,000; and Santos, the port of São Paulo. Santiago, the capital of Chile, is the largest city on the western coast, with a population of 400,000. Valparaiso is the most important port on the Pacific coast in South America, while two hundred miles to the north is Coquimbo, another important Chilean port. The two most important cities in Peru are Lima, with 150,000 people, and Callao, the seaport of Lima, with a population of 35,000. As a commercial center Callao is second only to Valparaiso. Quito and Guayaquil are the two largest cities in Ecuador, the former with 80,000 and the latter with 60,000 people. Bogota, the capital of Colombia, has a population of 120,000, while Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, has a population of 73,000. Mexico City has a population of 344,721, while Guadalajara is the second city in Mexico, with 101,208 people.

Latin American Cities

Education

In colonial times whatever educational facilities existed in the Spanish or Portuguese colonies were under the control of the Roman Church. Such education was based upon dogma-

tism and obedience and there was no general and popular education, as in the modern sense. The universities were designed to train men for the priesthood, and the whole system was ecclesiastical and aristocratic. Latin America has never entirely broken away from this type of education. A number of the older universities are still under the control of the Roman Church, and in a number of instances the church controls both primary and secondary education.

Early Education

Most of the leaders in the Latin-American states have recognized the importance of education in the development of their respective countries, and all of the constitutions have made provision for the carrying out of a comprehensive educational program. Recent leaders have realized that popular government can rest only upon popular intelligence, and where ignorance and illiteracy exist real democratic government is impossible. Each government has its minister of education or a department of education under some other officer. Practically every republic has a system of free, compulsory primary education, while some of the more advanced countries have likewise free secondary schools. In most instances the government also maintains certain colleges and universities. On paper these educational systems leave little to be desired, but, like many other things in Latin America, there is a considerable difference between plan and practice. Popular education has never really germinated in Latin America. It has always entered the country by way of the capital and has never become a popular ideal. "It has been introduced by idealists and social reformers; it has never become a popular demand."

Constitutional Provisions for Education

The most advanced republics from the educational standpoint are Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Argentina owes much of her educational advance to the pioneer work of Sarmiento, who became president in 1868, and at once began promoting education. He commissioned Dr. William Goodfellow, an American missionary, to send out American women to establish normal schools, where teachers could be trained. These were loyally supported, and this gave Argentina the

lead in educational matters for many years. Primary education is free and compulsory, but at the present time of the total number of children of primary age only about half are in school. Secondary education is not compulsory in Argentina, though the government maintains nearly thirty secondary and thirty-five normal schools. There are three universities, Cordoba, one of the very old universities in Latin America, and La Plata and Buenos Ayres, the last two being comparatively young institutions. Chile maintains over 2,500 primary schools, some 75 secondary schools, 16 training colleges, as well as 6 agricultural colleges, 10 commercial schools, 3 mining schools, and 29 technical schools for women, where all kinds of practical work are taught; also a school of art, music, and drama. Chile owes much of her educational advance to the work of Balmaceda. There are two Chilean universities, a National University and a Catholic University. Education in Uruguay ranks about equal with Argentina, and less than fifty per cent of the people are illiterate.

Education in Argentina and Chile

The educational system in Brazil differs somewhat from most of the other states, in that the federal government provides the higher education, while the primary education is left to the several states. Naturally, there is a great difference among the states in the way they maintain their schools. The most progressive states, Minas Geraes, Rio Grande do Sul, and São Paulo, have over half of the public schools. Brazil has no universities, but maintains separate schools of medicine, law, engineering, etc. Neither has it any central educational organization, which leaves much to be desired. The government has recently passed a new educational law abolishing the degree of doctor, maintaining that such a degree is undemocratic.

The Educational System of Brazil

In the west-coast countries and in Colombia and Venezuela education is in a more backward state. Peru has a free and compulsory primary educational system, though only a small proportion of the children of school age are actually in school. Bolivia also has a free and compulsory educational system, the primary schools being under the control of the municipalities.

The total number of primary schools in Bolivia does not exceed 600, with not more than 40,000 pupils. In Peru something over 100,000 receive instruction, while over 300,000 children of school age are not in school. Illiteracy in both countries is very great. In Ecuador, in 1900, there were 80,000 children in attendance upon the 1,300 primary schools, and 4,500 pupils in the 37 secondary schools. Ecuador maintains three universities, namely, Quito, Guayaquil, and Cuenca, while there is also at Quito an agricultural and military school, and a naval school at Guayaquil. In 1908 there were in Venezuela 1,150 public schools with 36,000 pupils, and a considerable number of parochial schools. There is a university at Caracas, and also one at Merida, as well as several professional schools. In Colombia the educational system is still under the control of the church, and in many respects Colombia lags behind most of the other states in its educational system. In 1906 there were 219,000 in all the schools, primary, secondary, and universities. Ninety per cent of the people, however, are illiterate. There are two universities, one at Bogota, and the other at Medellin, while there are also a few normal schools, as well as agricultural and technical schools. Paraguay stands at the bottom of the list from the educational standpoint, although primary education is free and compulsory.

Backward Educational Conditions in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and Paraguay

The educational situation in Mexico is fairly good. The laws provide for a free compulsory and nonsectarian education, and also preparatory courses for professional training are likewise free. In 1904 there were 9,000 public schools, about two thirds maintained by the government, with about 650,000 pupils. Besides these schools there are private and religious schools with some 135,000 pupils. The old University of Mexico ceased to exist in 1865 and was succeeded by professional schools maintained by the government. The proportion of illiteracy in Mexico, however, is very high, being nearly eighty-five per cent. In the Central American republics primary education is free and compulsory, though lack of funds, public unrest, and lack of

Education in Mexico and Central America

interest have worked against the development of the schools. Illiteracy in most of the states is very high, being at least eighty per cent in Guatemala. The most progressive state educationally is Costa Rica.

The chief enemies of education in Latin America are the church and the great landed proprietors. The proprietor wants the son of the peon to walk in the footsteps of his father, in order that the son may remain in the mud hut on the land. The church wants the peon to remain in ignorance so that the priest may continue to exploit him. One of the greatest handicaps in building up schools throughout South America and in Mexico is the lack of village and town life. The land is largely held by great landlords, while the people who till the land are dependent upon the owner for school advantages, and in most cases he makes no effort to provide schools for the children of his peons. Another lack is suitable schoolhouses. In most instances dwelling houses are used or old convents or monasteries, which are poorly adapted for school purposes. Suitable teachers are also hard to find. In some instances teachers are being trained in the normal schools, but so far the output is far below the demand. Teaching methods are quite generally very crude, the pupils learning by rote and studying aloud, as in China. Even university students learn chemistry by committing formulæ rather than by the laboratory method.

Handicaps Working Against Building Up of Schools in Latin America

Latin-American Literature

Since their independence the Latin-American states have developed a rich literature, which is, however, little known among North Americans or Europeans. The literature immediately succeeding the revolutions followed classic models, which in turn gave way to romanticism. One South American summarizes the literature of this period thus: "All things favored romanticism; the political conflicts and the anarchy of the time formed Byronic heroes. . . . Melancholy, exasperated individualism, . . . are reflected in American literature." Among the poets of this period are Car, of Colombia; Andrade, of Argentina; and Salaverry, of Peru. To the Latin-American

poet of this period romanticism was not simply a matter of art, but grew out of his own life. Of the poets of this school Andrade stands out as the greatest. In recent years Latin-American literature has been influenced by French models. Among contemporary writers are Manuel Ugarte, of Argentina; Ricardo Palma, of Peru; Ricardo Rojas, of Argentina; and others of equal note. Latin Americans have written in recent years novels and short stories of great brilliancy. The novelists have rich and subtle vocabularies, and an artistic sense which gives them a flavor quite their own. In recent years South Americans have also begun to interpret their own history and ideals. Among this type are the brilliant books by F. Garcia Calderon of Peru, Latin America, Its Rise and Progress, and The Two Americas, by ex-President Reyes, of Colombia, both of which have been translated into English.

The most important newspaper center in Latin America is Buenos Ayres. The two principal daily papers, La Presna and La Nación, have a circulation of more than one hundred thousand copies. These papers are modern in every respect, with cabled news from every part of the world. Besides these prominent papers are many vernacular newspapers published in Buenos Ayres. The papers are more like those in America than the European papers, in that they are somewhat sensational. Of the periodicals published in the capital of Argentina, 214 are in Spanish, 22 in Italian, 8 in German, 10 in English, and others in Russian, French, Basque, and Scandinavian. The oldest newspaper in Chile is El Mercurio, which was established in 1827. In 1910 there were in Chile 419 periodical publications. Of these 100 were published in the capital, 37 in Coquimbo, 32 in Valparaiso, 23 in Concepción. In Mexico the press has played a considerable part since 1884. In this year the first newspapers were sold upon the streets of Mexico, and since that date they have taken on the character of modern dailies. In 1910 there were 225 periodicals in the capital, among them being 10 Spanish dailies, 2 English, and 1 French. The cities of Brazil are also well supplied with newspapers, as are also Peru and Uruguay. In Bolivia daily newspapers are

Latin American Newspapers

published in the more important cities and at least a weekly paper is published in every department capital. The Venezuelan newspapers are distinguished by their literary character. All the Central American states, as well as the republics of Haiti, Santa Domingo, and Cuba, have numerous newspapers.

The Religious Situation in Latin America

From the first Latin America has been devoutly Roman Catholic. As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, one of the chief motives of the Spanish and Portuguese colonization and conquest of Central and South America was religious. Queen Isabella was particularly interested in the conversion of the Indians, and this duty was continuously urged upon the discoverers and explorers. The expeditions of every important explorer carried priests; at every opportunity native temples were turned into Christian churches, mass was said, and the natives were induced to be baptized by the wholesale. The pious names which are found everywhere in Latin America are a testimony to the religious fervor of the early explorers and conquerors. Representatives of the religious orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans, as well as secular priests, came out in large numbers. After the organization of the Jesuits they became active in missionary work, achieving their greatest successes in Brazil and Paraguay. The Catholicism brought to America was, of course, the Spanish and Portuguese type. At the beginning of the colonial period Spain had just passed through a Catholic revival; the church had been thoroughly cleansed and rendered especially efficient. The Inquisition had also been established just a few years before Columbus made his first voyage and enthusiasm for religion had become one of the chief Spanish traits.

Introduction of Christianity into Latin America

The methods used in converting the Indians have not served to make of them real Christians. Too often the missionaries were satisfied with simply a nominal acceptance of Christianity on the part of the natives and no adequate effort was made to instruct them in the principles of Christianity. Too often also the Spanish conqueror imposed his religion on the natives by

force and to-day the religion of the natives of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador impresses the traveler as "a timid and superstitious submission, without confidence and zeal." As a result of these methods the Indian in South America to-day is a nominal Christian only, while at heart he is still a pagan. He still worships images made of clay, while in time of drought he worships lakes, rivers, and springs. When frost threatens he adores the stars, lights bonfires, and buys masses. He still consults the future by opening animals and inspecting the entrails, just as the priests were doing when Cortes entered the Aztec capital. Every village has its chapel, where abides the patron saint, and every year there is celebrated a great eight-day feast in honor of the saint, in which drunkenness, dancing, and carousal are the chief features.

How the Missionaries Converted the Indians

The type of piety seen commonly in Latin America strikes one as more mediæval than modern. There are many wonder-working shrines throughout every Latin-American country and to these come hundreds of credulous people. Such a shrine is to be found in a church at Cordoba, Argentina, and another in Santos, Brazil. Following the custom of applying pious names to places, begun by the early discoverers, the modern Latin American displays such signs as "Butcher Shop of the Holy Spirit," "Furniture Shop of the Saviour." A certain bottling house in Peru calls its product "Jesus Water," while on a certain Good Friday a magazine came out with a picture advertising a brand of cigarettes, showing Christ in the foreground, and Judas and others in the background, all smoking that particular brand of cigarette. Judas is remarking, "If I had had such cigarettes to smoke, I wouldn't have betrayed Him." As a whole the Catholic Church in Latin America has little to resemble the same church in the United States and there seems little chance of things improving until education and intelligence become much more common than at present.

Latin American Piety

Bolivar opposed the union of church and state, stating that "no religious creed or profession should be prescribed in a political constitution," but in spite of his opposition every

state when it drew up its constitution declared the Roman Catholic Church to be the established church, and outlawed all other creeds. It was not long, however, until the Catholic Church began to give trouble in the newly organized republics, and in every country parties came into existence opposed to the church, or at least opposed to the control of the church in political affairs. This party generally took the name of Liberal, while the church party was called the Conservative. The question of the taxation of church lands also became a serious problem, and when non-Catholics began to come into several of the republics the question of religious liberty also arose. These problems led to the passage of more liberal laws and to the recognition of other religious bodies until at the present time practical religious liberty is found in every country in Latin America. Peru and Bolivia were the last countries to gain religious liberty. The church fought these liberal tendencies and the pope gave his aid, but the tendency in the direction of liberal ideas was too strong to be resisted, and such laws as the secularization of cemeteries, civil marriage, and the registration of births, as well as the recognition of the legality of other denominations besides the Catholic have been passed everywhere throughout Latin America.

Religious Liberty in Latin America

Church and state, however, are not separated in Latin America. Maintenance of public worship is generally recognized as a duty of the state, and each government contributes to the church for that purpose. In Peru the annual sum appropriated by the state for the support of the church ranges from $25,000 to $100,000, while in Chile and Argentina nearly a half million is contributed yearly. Besides these sums contributed by the central governments local authorities make special contributions for special purposes, such as the upkeep of the church and the bishop's residence. In most instances the state makes appropriations for the support of church schools, and aids in the erection of churches. The church in Latin America, especially on the west coast, is a large property owner. The church property in Santiago is estimated as worth $100,-

Relation of Church and State

000,000 in gold, while in Ecuador one fourth of all the property in the country is held by the bishop, and of the population of the country ten per cent are priests, monks, or nuns. A recent traveler and student of Latin America observes, "The only hope for reforming the Church in these countries is the spur of Protestant competition" (Ross, p. 310).

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CHAPTER XX

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

JUDGED by the economic development of the United States, the Latin-American states are extremely backward. The people of Spanish and Portuguese races have never been noted for their industry. They have never developed a zeal for manufacturing, nor have they been noted for their trade. The Spaniard of the conquest despised the trader and depended upon the ignorant and downtrodden Indian to perform all of his manual toil. In contrast to the Spanish settler in South America was the typical North American. He was accustomed from the beginning to toil with his hands. He and his sons worked early and late, clearing the fields, sowing the grain, reaping the crops. The descendants of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors, however, have never used their hands in manual toil, and the attitude of the conquerors toward manual labor is still that of the dominant race. These different points of view in respect to toil help to explain the difference in the economic development of the two Americas.

Economic Antecedents

Another factor which has retarded the economic development of Latin America is the fact that there is practically no middle class among the population. It has generally been this class which has built up industry and trade throughout the world. The class coming nearest the middle class in America and Europe is the mestizo, yet he has not reached that stage of development or intelligence which makes possible the direction of industry. Nor has he the capital. The upper classes live in the cities, generally situated along the coast, as they have always done, while the back country has been left undeveloped. Not until a middle class arises in Latin America will conditions in this respect undergo much change. Already in Argentina

No Middle Class Economically

a middle class has arisen, with the result that a better economic foundation has been established, which has been reflected in the laws and the government. The same is true to a limited extent in Chile, Uruguay, southern Brazil, and Peru.

Two other factors in the economic progress of Latin America are climate and geography. Both North and South America have broad bulges in the northern parts and taper to a point in the south, "but North America bulges in the temperate zone while South America bulges in the tropics." At least four fifths of South America is in the tropics, and it is undoubtedly true that peoples living within the torrid zone have not been noted for their economic progress. The most progressive South American states are those in the temperate zone, namely, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and southern Brazil. Nor has nature been kind to South America in its geography. Transportation has been made exceedingly difficult because of the Andes. Travel from coast to coast in North America is comparatively easy, but in South America there is one stretch of the Andes two thousand miles long, in which there is not a pass under twelve thousand feet. The Andes are also responsible for the coastal desert, which stretches for fifteen hundred miles throughout Peru and northern Chile. Still, again, nature has not been kind to South America in that she has no adequate deposits of coal. South America is a coal-importing country. Chile, the largest coal-producing district, imports half of its supply from Australia and the British Isles.

Climate and Geography and Their Economic Influence

In the matter of rivers South America has been better favored. The Amazon and the La Plata are two wonderful systems and are navigable for a much greater distance than the Mississippi. The Amazon, however, drains a tropical country, where there has been little economic advance, and the same is also true of the Orinoco and largely so of the La Plata. There are some possibilities for water power on the western coast, but the need of water for irrigation there is so great that it is a question whether both can be adequately supplied. Undeveloped water

South American Rivers

power also exists on the eastern coast, but due to the absence of capital it has never been utilized.

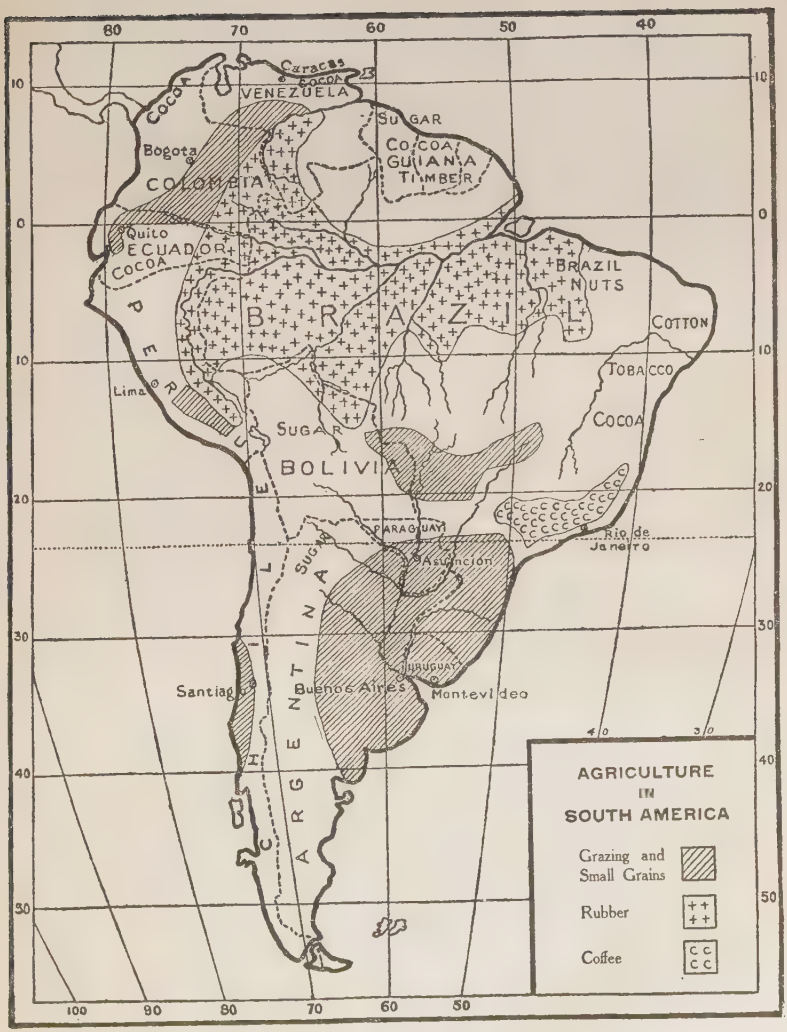
The three chief industries of Latin America are agriculture, cattle-raising, and mining. South America is one of the principal food-producing sections of the world, and for that reason is becoming increasingly important. In the production of sugar, cocoa, and coffee Latin America is preeminent, while such staples as wheat and meats are also produced in increasing quantities. Cotton, wool, rubber, and leather are also among the agricultural products, while some of the largest untouched forests in the world are to be found here. The mineral wealth of Latin America is enormous, and although mining operations have been carried on for over four hundred years, they are not only not exhausted, but largely undeveloped. Iron deposits are found in Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Mexico; copper in Chile and Mexico; silver in Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico, and gold in the west-coast countries in the alluvial deposits. Cattle-raising is chiefly carried on in Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil, while immense flocks of sheep are raised in southern Argentina, Chile, and Tierra del Fuego.

Latin American Products

Agriculture and Cattle-Raising

The most advanced Latin American states are those in which agriculture forms the basis of wealth and prosperity. Argentina owes her advance to agriculture and stock-raising. In 1908 the live-stock census showed there were in Argentina 29,000,000 cattle, 67,000,000 sheep, 7,500,000 horses, 1,500,000 hogs, and 4,250,000 mules. The value of the live-stock industry, together with the land, is calculated at four billion gold dollars. In agriculture Argentina has made rapid advance. In 1895 there were 12,000,000 acres under cultivation; in 1908, 45,000,000 acres. Of this 15,000,000 was in wheat, 7,500,000 in corn, 12,000,000 in alfalfa, 1,500,000 in oats, 400,000 in flax, 187,000 in sugar cane, and 300,000 in vines. The wheat yield in tons in 1908 was 5,250,000 tons, or about 200,000,000 bushels. Of this about 140,000,000 bushels was exported. The production of wool is also

Argentina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AGRICULTURE
IN
SOUTH AMERICA
Grazing and
Small Grains
Rubber
Coffee

important, the 1908 value of wool exports being something over $45,000,000.

Brazil is the greatest coffee-producing country in the world, and São Paulo the greatest center in Brazil. In 1850 the yield of coffee was 103,000 bags, or about 14,000,000 pounds, while in 1910 the immense quantity of 1,626,310 pounds was raised. The average crop is about 12,000,000 bags. Besides being the greatest producer of coffee, Brazil in 1911 raised fifty per cent of the world's output of cocoa, of which 35,000 tons were exported. Sugar and cotton are also important crops. There are as many as sixty sugar mills in the vicinity of Pernambuco alone. The average output of sugar in recent years is about 350,000 tons. Rubber grows wild in Brazil, along the Amazon, and forms one of the important products, while in the southern part cattle-grazing is becoming increasingly productive. Other agricultural products, such as mandioca and Paraguayan tea, are raised in large quantities.

Brazil

In Uruguay, as in Argentina and Brazil, cattle and agriculture form the greatest source of wealth. The live-stock industry, however, is the chief activity. An estimate of the number of live stock in Uruguay in 1910 was 8,200,000 cattle, 25,000,000 sheep, 500,000 hogs, with thousands of horses, mules, and goats. In 1910 there were nearly 900,000 cattle slaughtered. Uruguay has about 2,000,000 acres devoted to agriculture, and of the products wheat leads, followed by corn, barley, oats, linseed, and bird seed. Tobacco culture has recently been introduced and promises favorable returns.

Uruguay

In 1912 Chile cultivated over 2,000,000 acres of wheat, with an annual average yield of about 25,000,000 bushels. About half the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the value of the products amounting to $75,000,000. In the southern part of the country pastoral pursuits are becoming more important. There are about 2,000,000 sheep, 40,000 cattle, 25,000 horses, besides hogs, mules, and goats. Chilean wine has an excellent reputation, as has also honey.

Chile

The chief crop cultivated in Paraguay is "yerbe mate," or

Paraguayan tea, a product peculiar to the country. It takes the place of tea and coffee among a considerable portion of the population of South America. Paraguay is very fertile, though as yet little developed. Corn and mandioca form the principal food of the country, while cattle and hogs are raised in considerable numbers. There is much possibility for fruit-raising also, for the orange grows abundantly, although as yet largely uncultivated. Agriculture is an important source of wealth in both Venezuela and Colombia. In Venezuela over 200,000 acres are planted in coffee, especially in the northwestern section of the country. Cocoa and tobacco are important crops in both countries, as is also sugar. Rubber and cotton form another considerable portion of the wealth of these countries. Cocoa is one of the chief crops of Ecuador, where vast cocoa groves are found. Coffee is largely grown for domestic use, the annual crop being estimated at 7,000,000 pounds. Cattle breeding flourishes in Ecuador, Venezuela, and Colombia, and in the uplands sheep are raised for mutton and wool. Rubber yields about 1,000,000 pounds yearly, while the annual output of sugar amounts to some 16,000,000 pounds. The leading crops of Peru are the result of irrigation and are sugar, cotton, and rice. The average annual crop of sugar is 150,000 tons. Peruvian cotton is raised also by irrigation, as many as five pickings being obtained from one planting. Alfalfa, quinua, and potatoes are important products, while cattle- and sheep-raising is carried on in the uplands. The principal agricultural products of the Guianas are sugar, cocoa, coffee, timber, and rum. In Bolivia rubber is the principal agricultural product, while cocoa and coffee are cultivated in the departments of La Paz and Cochabamba. Cattle, sheep, and llamas are abundantly raised both for food and hides.

Agriculture in Paraguay, Venezuela, Colombia, Guianas, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador

The annual value of the agricultural products of Mexico exceeds $200,000,000. The great food crop is Indian corn and is cultivated in every state. Mexico was the original home of Indian corn. Sugar, cocoa, coffee, and tobacco are other important crops. Sugar culture is confined to the tropical regions

AGRICULTURE
IN
MEXICO
AND
CENTRAL AMERICA
Rubber
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Cotton
Sugar
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and totals more than 250,000 tons a year. Mexico has three other remarkable crops, the agave Americana, known generally as the century plant, from which the native drink, pulque, is made, the chicle, from whose sap comes chewing gum, and the guayule, a shrub which grows in the waste places of Mexico, which is one of the most productive of rubber-producing plants.

Agriculture in Mexico and Central America

The export of guayule in 1912 amounted to 4,130 tons, valued at $4,967,560. The agricultural resources of Central America are abundant. Coffee-raising in Costa Rica and Nicaragua is an important industry. In Guatemala corn is the chief food crop, while coffee and cotton are two of the chief crops raised for export. Fruit culture is becoming increasingly important for the Central American states, and the export of bananas is especially large in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. The great natural product of Salvador is the balsam tree. About 130,000 pounds of balsam are exported annually. It is used in surgery for its antiseptic qualities. In Honduras and Panama the growing of bananas for export is the most important industry, though coffee, cocoa, rubber, and sugar are raised in increasing quantities.

Agriculture in Cuba and Haiti

The chief sources of the agricultural wealth of Cuba are sugar, tobacco, coffee, cocoanuts, and cocoa, though such crops as rice, corn, and fruits, such as the pineapple, citrus fruit, and oranges, are also produced in abundance. Cocoa, cotton, and sugar are likewise the chief products of the island of Haiti. The sugar industry in Cuba covers the greatest extent of territory and employs the greatest number of men. Cuba has long been famous for its tobacco, and millions of cigars and cigarettes are manufactured in the island. The coffee industry in Cuba has grown since the island became independent and in 1907 reached a production of 6,595,700 pounds. Cocoanut-raising is very easy and profitable, while fruits and vegetables can be grown in the greatest abundance.

Mining

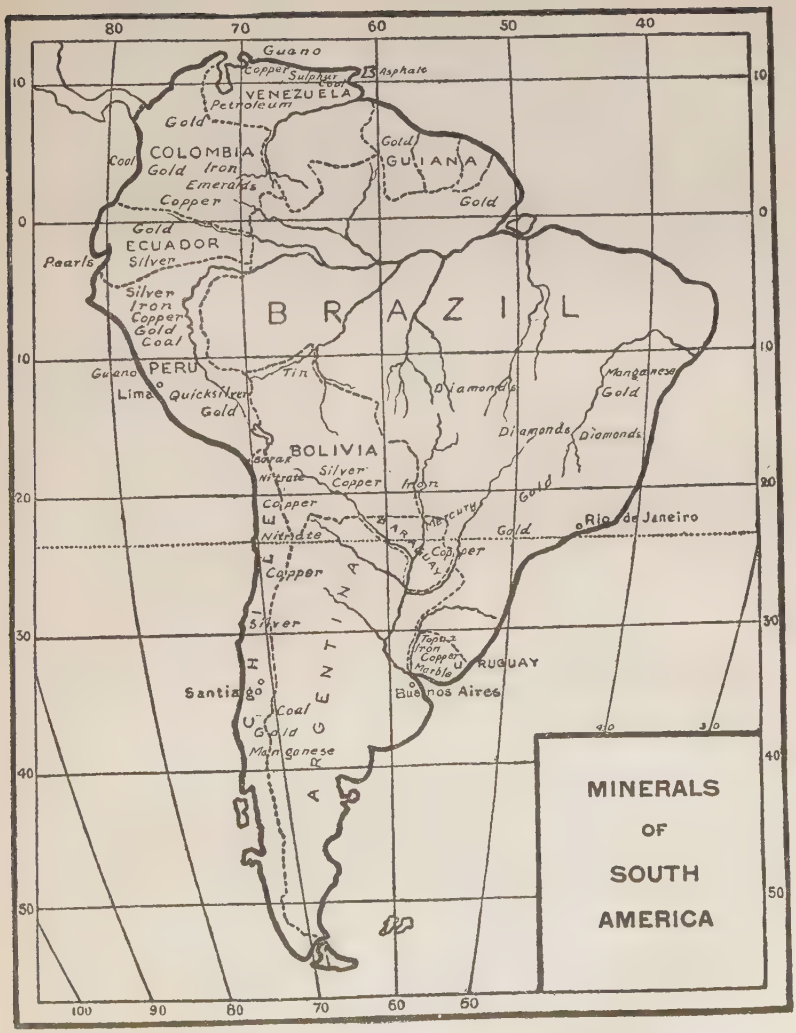
The principal source of wealth in Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Co-

lombia, and Mexico is the mines. The chief form of mineral wealth in Chile is nitrate. The nitrate or saltpeter zone in Chile embraces the entire north end of the country, 450 miles long. The nitrate is not found near the coast, but in a barren and waterless plain from 15 to 93 miles from the sea, at an altitude of from 3,600 to 13,000 feet. In 1912, 24,985,286 quintals (quintal = 22.46 pounds) were exported, and "there is a visible supply of nitrate mineral, allowing for increased consumption, for at least the next fifty years." As has already been stated, Chile has the only coal fields in Latin America, though the supply is not large enough to meet the demands of the country. Bolivia produces almost all the known metals, which are both widely distributed and abundant. Bolivia produces one fourth of the tin of the world and this at present is the leading product of the republic. Bolivia produces about $350,000 worth of gold annually and $2,500,000 worth of silver, while the value of the tin output is about $10,000,000 annually. Coal and petroleum have recently been discovered in Bolivia. Bolivia is one of the three countries in the world producing bismuth.

Chile and Bolivia

In Peru copper occupies the chief place among the mineral productions, while the total mineral output of the country is valued at about $25,000,000 annually. The output in pounds is 56,000,000 pounds of copper, 240,000 pounds of silver, 5,000,000 pounds of lead, while some coal and petroleum and gold are also produced. "Mining is the most highly developed and best organized of Mexico's industries, the importance of which is shown by the fact that a recent estimate gives the amount of capital engaged as $647,200,000. Of this amount $409,000,000 was American, $87,200,000 English, $10,000,000 French, and $29,400,000 Mexican." The leading mineral exports are silver, valued at $44,784,000; gold, $24,952,000; copper, $13,285,000, with smaller amounts of lead antimony and zinc ore. Mexico is rapidly becoming one of the principal oil fields of the world. In 1910 one of the most remarkable oil wells ever found was opened in the state of Tampico. Jets of oil rose to a height of three hundred feet in the air and within twenty-four hours produced 103,000

Peru and Mexico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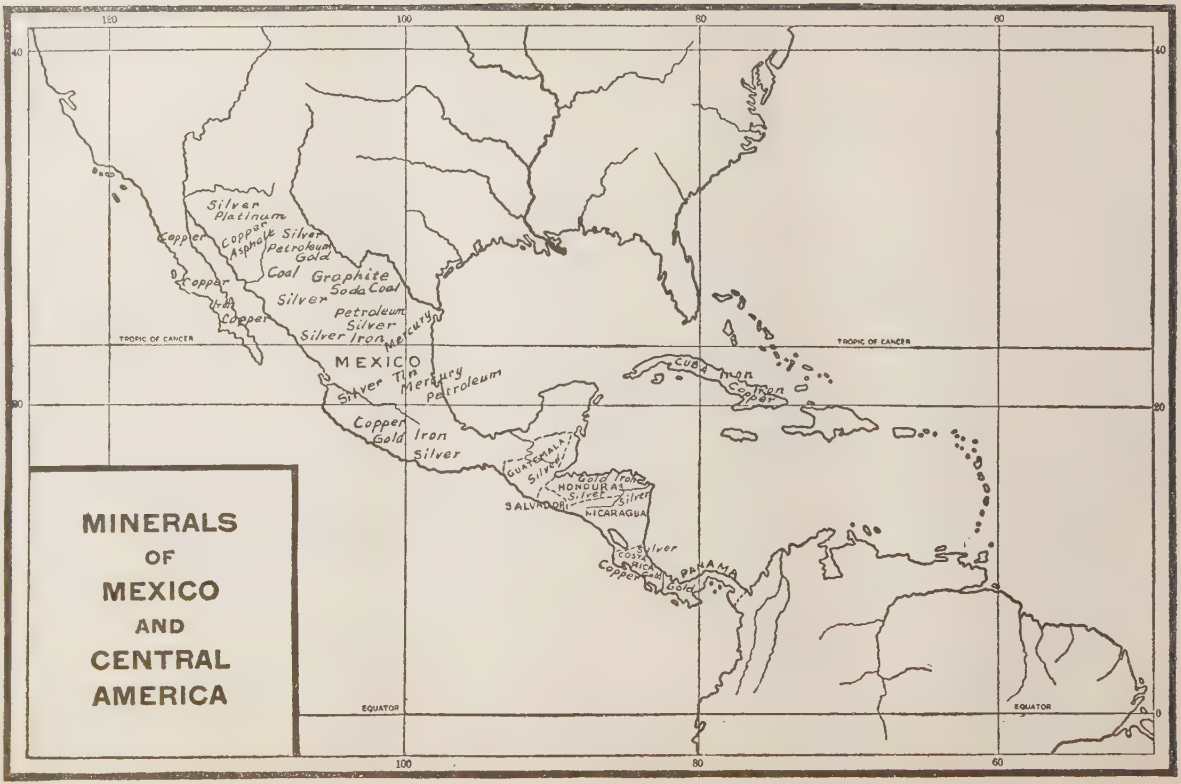
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barrels. In 1907 the output was 1,000,000 barrels; in 1909, 2,488,000 barrels; in 1911, 12,629,000 barrels, and in 1912 nearly 17,000,000 barrels.

The mineral wealth of Colombia, Venezuela, and the Central American states is likewise considerable. In Colombia gold was mined in the early years of Spanish occupation, and these old Spanish mines still continue to produce. Colombia is also famous for its emerald mines, from which a million and a quarter of dollars' worth of emeralds have been sold annually for twenty years. Silver is also found in quantities and deposits of coal, iron, copper, lead, and cinnabar are known to exist. In Venezuela are found copper, coal, iron, and sulphur. A deposit peculiar to the island of Trinidad and Venezuela is that of asphalt. In the state of Bermudez a lake of this mineral covers a thousand acres, while in Trinidad there is a lake of pure asphalt a mile and a half across. This mineral is finding a wide use in street-paving, roofing, etc. The Central American states are also rich in minerals, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and zinc.

Colombia, Venezuela, and the Central American States

Land, Wages, and Labor

One of the chief causes for the backward economic development of Latin America is the lack of an intelligent laboring class and the unequal distribution of land. Throughout Latin America much of the land is held in immense estates by the white population, many of them the descendants of the original conquistadores. The largest private estate in the world, the Terraza Hacienda, exists in Mexico in the state of Chihuahua. It contains 8,000,000 acres, and is 200 miles long and 145 miles wide. Chile is completely governed by the large landed proprietors. These haciendados hold large estates in the province of Santiago particularly, while other sections of the country have been sold in great plots to speculators or capitalists rather than to settlers. While the land situation is perhaps at its worst in Chile, yet in every Latin-American country the same condition, more or less, prevails. In Argentina single proprietors own as much as

The Land Question

300,000 to 500,000 acres, while in the territories to the south are holdings of over 1,000,000 acres. In 1903 a new land law was passed in Argentina forbidding the alienation of more than 6,250 acres to a single person. In Mexico as many as a thousand peon families live on the estate of a single proprietor. Conditions in Brazil, Peru, Colombia, and the other republics are little better, and there are few small landholders anywhere in Latin America. The vast majority of the people are absolutely landless.

The proprietors of these vast estates seldom live upon them. In Chile the haciendados have country residences, where the family lives a few months in the year, but the owner and his family spend the greater part of the year in the town. The owners of plantations in Peru, Ecuador, or Colombia ride out from the towns to superintend their farms. The owner thus is compelled to leave much to his overseer, who robs him at every turn, and the soil receives poor attention. It has never been the custom in Latin America for landed proprietors to live on their estates, not even in colonial times.

Another factor in the economic backwardness of Latin America is the condition of labor. Since the time of the conquests the semicivilized Indians have labored for the ruling class. To all intents and purposes the Indian and half-breed in most of the Latin-American countries is practically a serf. In southern Colombia, for instance, the agricultural laborer works four days each week upon the land of the proprietor at from five to ten cents per day, in return for his patch and house. He runs in debt to his master for supplies, and since he is never able to work off the debt, he cannot leave the estate, and thus he becomes a serf for life. Much the same system prevails in Ecuador, though conditions are somewhat better, the laborer receiving from twenty to forty cents per day, and an acre of ground to cultivate for himself. In Bolivia the laborer receives from two to four acres to cultivate, in return for which he gives from two to four days each week to the owner, for which he receives no other wages except his food. Debt slavery is not legal in Bolivia. In Chile the laborer receives from two to six

Agricultural Labor

acres for his own cultivation, and in addition wages varying from ten to fifteen cents a day. Independent laborers in Chile receive fifty cents a day. In Argentina a better condition prevails, the old feudal fetters which retard labor in the western countries of South America having been shaken off years ago, and it is not uncommon for a peon to acquire land and become a proprietor. In Mexico the peon is likewise a semiserf, the same conditions prevailing there which one meets in Colombia and Chile. The Mexcian peon lives in a mud hut, without any pretensions to comfort, cooks his food outside, is clothed in cotton, and wears sandals. The peons constitute by far the most numerous class in Mexico.

In the cotton- and sugar-growing regions of Brazil Negro labor is used, which is also true of the Guianas and Venezuela. It is stated that between 1825 and 1850 1,250,000 slaves were landed in Brazil, though slavery was abolished in 1888. The Brazilian Negro is easygoing, and he is usually content with just enough exertion to provide himself with the rude necessities. After the abolition of slavery, in order to provide labor for the estates, Brazil began the policy of establishing colonies for foreign immigrants, and a great wave set in, especially to the southern provinces. Into these coffee-growing states in southern Brazil Germans and Italians came in considerable numbers, and in these states labor is almost entirely of this stock. This fact accounts for the progressiveness of this part of Brazil. The cattle industry is carried on by the Gauchos much as in Uruguay and Argentina.

Agricultural Labor in Brazil

Transportation

The combined railroad mileage of Latin America in 1913 was 65,330 miles. This included Central and South America and the islands of Cuba and Haiti. Argentina leads with 20,300 miles; Mexico comes next with over 16,000 miles; Brazil ranks third with nearly 14,000 miles; Chile has over 5,000 miles; Cuba has 2,000, while the other states have less than 2,000 miles each. Railroad construction has been slow especially on the west coast, because of the difficulties presented by the Andes.

Railroad Mileage in Latin America

The scarcity of population is another factor delaying railroad building, for only as population creates demands can roads be constructed. In Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina railroad building has been comparatively easy, but far different problems are faced when railroad construction is attempted in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, or Colombia.

The greatest railroad center in Latin America is Buenos Ayres. The first railroad in Argentina, a short line running westward from the capital, was opened to traffic in 1857. Since that time railroad development has gone steadily forward, until at the present time Argentina ranks tenth among the countries of the world in the length of her lines. The railroads of Argentina may be divided into five systems: the Central Argentina, running northwestward to Tucuman; the great Southern, which serves the southern part of the province, with about 3,000 miles of line; the Buenos Ayres Western, with about 1,500 miles of track; the Central Cordoba, which includes the lines north of Tucuman; and the Buenos Ayres and Pacific, which forms part of the transcontinental system. One of the unfortunate things about the railroads of South America is the different gauges. There are three gauges in Argentina, namely, the broad, the medium, and the narrow, which condition prevents the transfer of rolling stock from one line to another. British capital has largely been responsible for the building of these roads, the amount invested being over $1,000,000,000. Every year railroad construction goes forward, and in 1911 1,964 miles of new track were laid.

Argentina Railroads

Years	Length	Capital Invested	Passengers	Freight	Receipts	Expenses
	Kilos	*Dollars gold*	*Number*	*Metric tons*	*Dollars gold*	*Dollars gold*
1865.....	249	5,379,898	747,684	71,571	563,134	438,961
1870.....	732	18,835,703	1,948,585	274,501	2,502,569	1,356,252
1880.....	2,516	62,964,486	2,751,570	772,717	6,560,417	3,072,185
1890.....	9,432	321,102,691	10,069,606	5,420,782	26,049,042	17,585,406
1900.....	16,563	531,398,720	18,296,422	12,659,831	41,401,348	23,732,754
1905.....	19,794	627,230,616	26,636,211	22,409,995	71,594,919	39,396,094
1909.....	25,508	898,913,000	50,830,000	31,955,000	103,578,000	62,272,000
1912.....	32,854	1,120,210,000	68,457,090	33,640,206	119,333,796	75,680,837

In 1914 the length of railroads in Brazil was 15,272 miles.

These railroads were originally planned to bring the products of the interior to the nearest port, which resulted in the building of five systems. Pernambuco was the focus of one system, Bahia of another, Rio de Janeiro of another, São Paulo of a fourth, while Rio Grande de Sul in the extreme south was the terminus of a fifth system. In recent years the government has seen the necessity of connecting these various systems, part of which plan has already been carried out. Uruguay has 1,540 miles of road, operated by five companies. The roads in operation are the Central Uruguay, the Midland Uruguay, the Uruguay East Coast, the Norte Railway, and the Puerta Sauce to Minuano. Montevideo is the great Uruguayan railroad center.

Railroads of Brazil and Uruguay

Over 2,000 miles of Chilean railroad are owned by the government, while private companies operate about as much more. The government railroad plan for Chile includes the building of a line reaching from north to south through the great central valley, where a large proportion of the population is to be found. Most of the short lines from the coast to the interior are private lines serving special interests. In 1910 the tunnel through the Andes was opened. Two other trans-Andean railroads are contemplated, one to cross the Andes some 300 miles north of Santiago, and the other some 400 miles to the south. Peruvian railroads are to a great extent owned by the government. In 1915 there were less than 2,000 miles of road in operation, though there were under construction or under survey some 3,500 miles additional. The most important is the Central Railroad, which runs from Callao through Lima to Oroya, with connections with Cerro de Pasco road, which has its terminus at the largest copper mine in the world. Peruvian railroads are short, and railroad construction has had to overcome tremendous difficulties. The same is also true of Bolivia, where less than 1,000 miles are in operation. The chief Bolivian road is the line which runs from Antofagasta, Chile, to Oruro, where it connects with the Bolivia Railroad, which in turn connects with a road to the capital, La Paz. Ecuador has but

Railroads in the West Coast Countries

375 miles of railroad, the greater part of this mileage being represented by the Guayaquil and Quito line.

Railroad development in Colombia and Venezuela has hardly begun. In Colombia the roads are mostly short lines running inland from coast ports, or connect inland places with the Magdalena River. The road connecting Bogota with the Magdalena is 105 miles long and was completed in 1906. Venezuela has a railroad mileage of 542 miles (1913). These roads resemble those of Colombia, being short lines running in from ports. Around the capital there has been more development, and several of these short lines have connected their systems.

Railroads in Colombia and Venezuela

Mexico ranks next to Argentina in railroad development. In 1913 there were some 16,000 miles of track. The government of Mexico has given encouragement to railroad construction, and has acquired large holdings of shares in the various roads. The roads operated under the name the "National Railroads of Mexico" have a combined mileage of over 8,600 miles. Among the roads of this corporation are the Mexican Central and the National Railroad of Mexico. The Mexican Central alone operates over 3,500 miles of track. There are several independent lines, among them being the Southern Pacific of Mexico, with 1,295 miles of track; the United Railways of Yucatan, with 503 miles, and the Mexican Northwestern. Since 1910 there has been but little railroad activity in Mexico. In the Central American states there are about 1,400 miles of track in operation. Guatemala leads with 487 miles, and Costa Rica comes second with 430 miles. Nicaragua and Honduras have about 170 miles each, while Salvador has about 100 miles. Panama has about 200 miles, the railroad across the Isthmus being the most important. It is but 48 miles in length. Surveys have been made for other important lines, one the Panama-David line, which is to be 361 miles in length.

Mexican and Central American Railroads

The Republic of Haiti has less than 100 miles of road, while in the Dominican republic there are about 150 miles, besides private lines on the large estates with a mileage of about 225 miles. Cuba has a railroad mileage of over 2,200 miles.

UNITED STATES
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
NEW ORLEANS
Ciudad Juarez
Chihuahua
Monclova
Matamoros
Laguna Madre
B. de Santander
Tampico
C. Rojo
Zacatecas
S. Luis Potosi
Durango
Mazatlan
Guadalajara
Queretaro
Tuxpan
Gulf of Campeachy
Yucatan
Peninsula
Campeachy
Merida
Progreso
Silan
C. Catoche
Cozumel I.
Espiritu Santo B.
Gulf of Honduras
BRIT. HONDURAS
C. Honduras
Belize
Veracruz
Orizaba
La Puebla
Colima
Manzanillo
Acapulco
Salina Cruz
Isthmus of Tehuantepec
Tehuantepec
Tuxtla
Oaxaca
Zultepec
Tampico
Tres Marias Is.
Revilla Gigedo Is.
C. Corrientes
C. Tehuantepec
Gulf of Tehuantepec
RAILROADS OF MEXICO
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300
Railways
110
100
90
30
20

GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
WEST INDIES
CARIBBEAN SEA
SOUTH AMERICA
CENTRAL AMERICA
MEXICO
Gulf of Honduras
HAVANA
Matanzas
Cardenas
Andros I.
Cr. Bahama I.
Gr. Abaco I.
Eleuthera (British)
Cat I.
Long I.
C S Antonio
Pinar del Rio
I. de Pinos
Cienfuegos
Trinidad
Bahia Honda
A. Puerto Principe
Nuevitas
Tanamo
Baracoa
Gr. Inagua
C de Cruz
Santiago de Cuba
Jobabo
Manzanillo
Cayo Romano
Cayo Sabinal
Cayo Guajaba
C Samana
Sanchez
Higuey
PORTO RICO
Arecibo
Ponce
Juan
Virgin Is
LEEWARD Is
WINDWARD ISLANDS
Guadeloupe
Dominica (Br)
Martinique (Fr)
Santa Lucia (Br)
St Vincent (Br)
Barbados (Br)
Grenada (Br)
Tobago (Br)
Trinidad (Br)
Caracas
Montego
Negril Pt
Savanna la Mar
St Anns
Kingston
Morant Pt
Port Royal
Goave I
Gonave I
Tiburon
Sagua la Grande
Cayo Romano
Sancti Spiritus
Ciego de Avila
Moron
Nuevitas
Gibara
Holguin
Tanamo
Baracoa
Gr. Inagua
Mayaguana I
Caicos Is
Turks Is
Sombrero I
Anguilla
St Martin
Saba
St Eustatius
St Kitts
Nevis
Montserrat
Antigua
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
St Lucia
St Vincent
Grenadines
Barbados
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Caracas
Merida
Yucatan
Campeachy
Peninsula
Progreso
Valladolid
Carmen
Sabancuy
Tabasco
Tuxtla
Tehuantepec
Salina Cruz
Tonala
Tapachula
Ocosingo
Chiapa
Comitan
Huehuetenango
Quezaltenango
Retalhuleu
Escuintla
Guatemala
Amatitlan
Solola
Atitlan
Chimaltenango
Antigua
Progreso
Peten
Belize
Stann Creek
Toledo
Tikal
Lake Peten
Chetumal
Bay Is
Ruatan
Utila
Roatan
Omoa
Puerto Cortez
Tela
Trujillo
Honduras
Comayagua
Tegucigalpa
Yoro
Olancho
Juticalpa
Segovia
Gracias a Dios
Cape Gracias a Dios
Caratasca
Bluefields
Chontales
Managua
Granada
Nicaragua
Lake Nicaragua
Masaya
Leon
Corinto
Realejo
Chinandega
Salvador
San Salvador
Santa Ana
Sonsonate
La Libertad
San Vicente
Usulutan
San Miguel
La Union
Amapala
Fonseca
Bay of Fonseca
Chiriqui
Bocas del Norte
San Juan de Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Liberia
Nicoya
C Blanco
Puntarenas
Esquinas
Limon
Cartago
San Jose
Alajuela
Heredia
C Matapalo
P Burica
I Coiba
David
Veraguas
Panama
Gulf of Panama
Aca
Colon
Chagres
Porto Bello
Chame
Chiriqui
Darien
Cape Tiburon
Cape Dame Marie
Cape Nicholas
Cape Maisi
Cape Cruz
Cape Antonio
Cape San Antonio
Cape Corrientes
Cape Catoche
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Honduras
Cape Gracios a Dios
Cape Blanco
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Gracias a Dios

Besides the railroads the four great river systems of South America furnish many thousands of miles of navigable waterways. In Colombia the Magdalena furnishes the chief means of transportation. The river is navigable for 560 miles from its mouth and there are other stretches of navigable waterways furnished by the larger tributaries. Steamship lines ply these waters, and although the government has done little to improve the river, yet the traffic is most profitable, and river dues yield as much as $150,000 a year. Like Colombia, Venezuela is fortunate in having a great river to furnish transportation to the interior of the country. The Orinoco is navigable for large steamships to Ciudad Bolivar, a town situated 375 miles from its mouth. The main tributaries of the Orinoco are also navigable. The Amazon and its tributaries furnish 27,000 miles of navigable waters. Large ocean-going ships can go up the river 1,000 miles to Manoas, while a United States gunboat steamed up the river 2,400 miles to the city of Iquitos, in eastern Peru. Small steamers can go up the river to within 350 miles of Lima, in Peru. The waterways of Peru, composed of the branches of the Amazon, have been estimated at a total length of 20,000 miles, while in Bolivia both the headwaters of the La Plata system, including the Parana, the Uruguay, and the Paraguay Rivers, offer immense opportunities for internal navigation. Sea vessels can go up to 1,200 miles above Buenos Ayres, while smaller craft can ascend 2,350 miles into the interior. Uruguay has 700 miles of internal waterways, largely furnished by the La Plata and the Uruguay rivers. There are ten ports of the Uruguay open to interoceanic trade. When properly developed the South American rivers will afford boundless opportunities for communication with the rich interior of the continent.

Waterways

READING REFERENCES

Perhaps the most available sources of information concerning the present economic situation in Latin America are the *General Descriptive Pamphlets of the Pan-American Union.* The pamphlet for each republic gives accounts of Products and Industries, Railways and Interior Waterways, etc.

Much information will also be found scattered through *The Republics*

of South and Central America, by C. Reginald Enock. In this book there is no one chapter devoted to the economic conditions, but each country is discussed separately.

South of Panama, by E. H. Ross, Chapter II, discusses the labor question in Latin America.

A chapter on "Economic Problems" will also be found in *Latin America*, by F. Garcia Calderon.

An instructive paper on "Some Economic Facts and Conclusions about South America," by S. O. Martin, may be found in *Latin America* (1913), edited by George H. Blakeslee (*Clark University Addresses*).

Bryce, in his *South America*, makes some instructive comments on the economic conditions in Latin America.

CHAPTER XXI

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COMMERCE

One might naturally suppose that the relations between the United States and Latin America would be intimate and close. All the republics belong to the New World and are detached from European politics: they all have the same form of government; all won their independence from European domination. The points of contrast, however, are much more numerous than the points in common. They differ in race, religion, language, and ideals. The Latin American has had a different history, as well as different climatic and physical surroundings. Mr. Bryce says, "The Teutonic Americans and the Spanish Americans have nothing in common except two names, the name America and the name republican." While there seems to be little sympathy between the two Americas, yet the fact of juxtaposition has produced contact, and it is the purpose of this chapter to examine these occasions of contact. Let us first, however, pass in review Latin American relations with European states.

Latin America and Anglo-Saxon America

Since the wars for independence the relation of the Latin-American republics with the mother countries has not been intimate. The Creoles, who were largely at the head of the revolutionary movements, hated the Spanish government, and this hatred was accentuated by the long duration of the struggle. Then Spain also was distracted for many years after the wars, and there was little to induce the Latin Americans to establish intimate relations with her. One will find few instances of any manifestation of interest in Spanish history in Latin America. Mr. Bryce points out the almost entire absence of any monuments to any of the great Spanish conquerors, such as Cortes or Pizarro. There has also been little interest manifested in

Latin American Relations with Spain

Spanish art or literature. Until recent years there were very few direct relations between Italy and Latin America. Although Italians compose a third of the population of Argentina, and are a considerable factor in the populations of Uruguay and Brazil, there is very little trade between Italian and South American ports, and practically no mutual political or intellectual influence.

Relations with Italy

For a number of years before the present European war, German relations with Latin America had been growing with considerable rapidity. Of all the people of northern Europe the Germans have come out to South America in the greatest numbers. These German immigrants have formed large communities in southern Brazil, and have had influence also in Chile. In Chile they direct the education, and the army has been organized on the German model. If it had not been for the Monroe Doctrine, undoubtedly Germany would have had large colonial interest in South America. Germany has for a number of years condemned the Monroe Doctrine for the very evident reason that it stood in the way of her ambitions. The Germans have continued to use the German language both in Brazil and Chile, and since Brazil has broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, the German colonists in the southern states have threatened revolt. The Germans have not invested largely in railroad construction, as have the British, but they have established steamship lines connecting German with Latin-American ports, and a great part of the commerce of several of the republics was in their hands. The Germans have taken considerable pains to learn the language of the people and to understand the people themselves. Aside, however, from the fact that the German army has served as the model for South American ministers to follow, Latin America has been little influenced by Germany. Germany has undoubtedly overestimated her influence in Latin America, as the conduct of her officials has clearly indicated.

German Relations with Latin America

British influence in Latin America has been largely commercial and economic. The English are by far the heaviest investors in South American railroads and other securities, while

many Englishmen own ranches and farms, especially in Argentina. Most Englishmen in Latin America are the representatives of wealthy firms or corporations and they are therefore men of considerable education and have a great deal of money which they dispense with seeming liberality. Railroad builders are considered great benefactors in South America, and the position of the English has been helped by that fact. As far, however, as affecting the ideals and the intellectual life of the people, the English, like the Germans, have little influence. The Latin Americans do not seem to consider the English interests in their countries as constituting a peril. They are willing to receive English help in developing their resources, but with English ways and ideals they have little in common.

Great Britain and Latin America

Of all European nations France has by far the largest influence upon Latin America. Mr. Bryce traces this to several causes. First, there was the influence of the French Revolution and the literature produced by France, both during and after that epoch. Severed from Spain by the revolutions, the Latin Americans turned to France. The French language was already more familiar to them than any other foreign language, and during the colonial days French commerce supplied the colonists with most of their luxuries. French literature had a special attraction for the Latin Americans in that they both have a fondness for graceful, pointed, and rhetorical expression. "In short, they have an intellectual affinity for France, for the brightness of her ideas, the gaiety of her spirit, the finish of her literary methods, the quality of her sentiment." It is to Paris that wealthy South Americans, whether from Brazil, Argentina, or Venezuela, flock for their amusement or their education. French ideals and tastes dominate the Latin-American world of ideas. French commerce is likewise considerable, though less in volume than that of Great Britain, Germany, or the United States.

French Influence in Latin America

The political relation of the United States to Latin America centers about the Monroe Doctrine. Our dealings with Mexico have been more frequent than with other countries, and they

have not been such as to cause them to desire our approach. The Mexican War, begun and carried through for the purpose of territorial aggrandizement on the part of the United States, will not soon be forgotten or forgiven by the Mexican people.

Relations of the United States with Mexico

The Gadsden purchase (1853) resulted in the acquiring of a large strip of territory bordering on New Mexico, for the purpose of making easier the construction of a transcontinental railway, and although not exactly a voluntary cession, yet it left no hard feeling. Since that time until 1911 the relation of the United States with Mexico has been cordial. At the close of the American Civil War the United States rendered a great service to the Mexican republic in bringing about the withdrawal of French troops and freeing them from the danger of foreign domination. Under the rule of Diaz American investments in Mexico were encouraged and in the development of the mineral resources and railroad extension of the country American capital played the chief part.

With the overthrow of President Diaz in 1911, and with the revolutions which followed, the $1,000,000,000 of American investments in Mexico were endangered and much pressure was brought to bear upon President Taft to intervene. Mr. Taft refrained from taking that extreme step, but the army of the United States was sent to the border to insure neutrality. In the last days of President Taft's administration President Madero was assassinated by the agents of General Huerta, after which Huerta assumed the presidency. President Wilson, who now came into office, refused to recognize Huerta, although he had already been recognized by European states. Because of the irritation felt by the Huerta party at the stand of President Wilson American sailors were arrested at Tampico, in April, 1914, by the soldiers of the Mexican president. Although

American Intervention in Mexico in 1914

Huerta disowned this act, the American admiral demanded a further satisfaction in the salute of the American flag by Mexican guns. This was refused. Meanwhile many people in the United States were beginning to fret and chafe under the policy of "watchful waiting" maintained by President Wilson, and de-

mands for intervention became loud. At last President Wilson and Congress decided to send troops to Vera Cruz. Accordingly, a force was landed which resulted in the killing of several Americans and a more considerable number of Mexicans. At this juncture mediation was proposed by the three great powers of South America, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. This was accepted by the United States and Mexico, and representatives of the five republics met at Niagara Falls in Canada and decided on an arrangement by which Huerta was to resign and the United States was then to withdraw her troops. In 1915 the United States recognized President Carranza as the president of Mexico. In 1916, Pancho Villa, a bold leader of a faction in Mexico, crossed the southern boundary of the United States, and a number of American citizens were shot, whereupon the government of the United States decided to send a division of troops to the border, under General Pershing, to punish Villa. Although this was not accomplished, the raids ceased. American troops are still on the border, but there have been no serious outbreaks to disturb the relations of the two republics further.

United States Relations with Central America

The early relations of the United States to the Central American states have been largely due to the question of an interoceanic canal. When a dispute arose between Great Britain and Nicaragua over the possession of the Mosquito coast, the United States supported the claims of Nicaragua. After the discovery of gold in California the frequency of travel across the isthmus became much greater, and agitation both for a railroad and a canal across the isthmus was begun. This resulted in the making of the first accurate surveys of the isthmus and the building of the Panama Railroad. This made necessary considerable negotiations with Nicaragua, but in 1901 the Nicaragua route was definitely abandoned and the Panama route chosen. After this, canal negotiations were carried on with Colombia, and later with the new republic of Panama, though a treaty was signed with Nicaragua in 1916 giving the United States an exclusive right to the Nicaragua route.

On the decision of the United States to adopt the Panama route for an interoceanic canal, negotiations were at once

begun with Colombia which resulted in what is known as the Hay-Herran treaty. At that time Colombia was torn by revolutionary movements which had begun in 1899. The treaty provided for the transfer to the United States on the part of Colombia of the rights of the French company which had become bankrupt in 1889. It provided also for the cession of a right of way for a canal, and a strip of territory five miles broad on each side of the canal, as well as the two ports of Colon and Panama. In return the United States agreed to pay $10,000,000 down and after ten years an annual rental of $250,000. Besides, the United States agreed to pay for the number of shares held by Colombia in the French Company. This treaty was properly signed by the agents of both governments, but the Colombian Congress refused to ratify on the ground that the treaty had been made while Colombia was in a state of war. The real reason, however, seems to have been the desire of the Colombian Congress to receive a larger money payment.

The Panama Canal Negotiations

Following the adjournment of the Colombian Congress a revolution broke out in Panama. This revolution was quite evidently fomented by persons interested in building the canal. American warships prevented Colombia from suppressing the revolt, and four days after the revolution began the United States recognized the independence of the new republic. The United States at once made an agreement with the new republic even more satisfactory than the previous unratified agreement with Colombia. Not only was a strip of land five miles broad on each side of the canal secured, but the right to fortify the canal was given, as well as additional naval stations within the republic. In return the United States agreed to pay Panama $10,000,000 down, and after nine years $250,000 each year. The constitution of Panama contains this clause: "The Government of the United States of America may intervene anywhere in the Republic of Panama for the establishment of constitutional peace and order if this should be disturbed, provided that by

The Revolution in Panama

Negotiations with the Republic of Panama

virtue of public treaty said nation should assume or have assumed to guarantee the independence and sovereignty of this republic." By this remarkable treaty agreement and by the constitutional grant of Panama the United States has practically gained a protectorate over Panama and a colony in the Canal Zone.

With the establishment of United States interests in Central America through her ownership of the Panama Canal Zone, she has taken a much greater part in Central American affairs. The United States has felt the necessity of establishing stable governments in the republics near the canal, and for that reason has been almost constantly occupied since 1906 either mediating between the republics or directly intervening in their internal affairs. In 1906 Presidents Roosevelt and Diaz mediated between Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras; in 1907 President Roosevelt arranged a peace conference in Washington of the five republics, which resulted in the signing of a compulsory arbitration agreement. Disturbed conditions continued in Nicaragua, and in 1909, after the overthrow of Zelaya, the United States negotiated a treaty with the Nicaraguan government giving the United States the right of virtually controlling the finances of the country. Again in 1912 United States troops were landed in Nicaragua, at the request of the Nicaragua government, to quell a revolution. In 1913 a revolution occurred in Honduras in which the United States again intervened and a treaty, similar to that made with Nicaragua, was negotiated, but failed of ratification.

United States Intervention in Central America

The United States's dealing with Cuba, Haiti, and Porto Rico has important bearing upon Latin-American sentiment toward North Americans. Throughout the whole nineteenth century Cuba was the object of particular interest to the United States. Jefferson desired it and John Quincy Adams believed it would eventually become a part of the American Union. Clay and Webster were fearful lest it become the possession of some other nation than Spain and after the agitation for the increase of slave territory the South became more insistent for its annexation. Cuban annexation was attempted on various

occasions. The Civil War, however, put a stop to these efforts and American interest in the island became largely commercial. Soon after the Civil War a revolution broke out in Cuba (1868–1878), characterized by the destruction of life and property. President Grant threatened intervention, but peace was finally restored after Spain had promised various reforms. These promises were not carried out, however, and Spain continued her old policy of exploitation and misrule. In 1895 another revolution was begun by the Cubans, due to the same old causes. The Spanish-born enjoyed all the privileges, held the offices, and reaped the profits, while race discrimination and favoritism were everywhere practiced. Spain tried in vain to put an end to the revolution and sent over some 200,000 troops. But the war dragged on without any prospect of subduing the island.

The United States and Cuba

Meanwhile the sympathies of the people of the United States for the Cubans was aroused by the policy of General Weyler in gathering the inhabitants of the island into concentration camps, where they were subjected to intense suffering. As a result American filibustering expeditions became numerous and supplies were sent to the Cuban rebels. The American Congress discussed conditions in Cuba and many of the members were strongly in favor of intervention. The matter was brought to a crisis on February 15, 1898, by the destruction of the battleship Maine in the harbor of Habana. The American press at once accused the Spanish authorities of sinking the ship. Negotiations continued until April 21, when war was declared between Spain and the United States. The war continued until August, 1898. Every engagement, both naval and military, was in favor of the United States. Cuba and Porto Rico were captured as well as the Philippines, and two Spanish fleets were destroyed. At the opening of the war Congress declared that its object was to free Cuba from Spain and not to annex the island. At the close of the war, however, the American army remained in Cuba to clean up the island. The Cubans were allowed to hold a constitutional convention, and a con-

The Independence of Cuba

stitution, almost an exact copy of that of the United States, was the result. Before a government was established the American Congress, however, passed what was known as the Platt amendment, limiting the independence of Cuba. It provided, first, that Cuba must make no treaty with a foreign power giving it lodgment in the island or impairing its own independence; second, certain regulations concerning its public debt were laid down; and third, the United States was given the right to intervene to preserve Cuban independence and to assure good government. The Cuban republic began its career in 1902 under President Palma. On his second election, in 1906, there was a revolution. The United States intervened and remained in the island until peace was restored under President Gomez, in 1909.

Porto Rico Since the Spanish-American War

By the treaty of Paris, which closed the Spanish-American war, Porto Rico became the property of the United States. It has since been governed by Congress, though a considerable degree of self-government has been established in the island.

The United States and Santo Domingo

Since it obtained its independence in 1821 the relations of the United States with the island of Haiti have not been such as to arouse suspicion on the part of the Latin-American states until recently. It is true that President Grant greatly desired the annexation of Haiti, and a treaty was drawn up with that end in view, but the American Senate refused its ratification. In recent years, however, our relations with that island have been the occasion of Latin-American distrust. In 1904 the European creditors of the Republic of Santo Domingo were about to take steps to forcibly intervene, as they had threatened in 1902 in Venezuela. To avoid this, President Roosevelt took steps to bring about an agreement between Santo Domingo and her creditors. American officials were appointed to take charge of the customhouse in order to insure that payments be made to the creditors. In his message of December 6, 1904, President Roosevelt laid down the principle that in case of wrongdoing or incompetent government on the part of an American state the United States would be compelled to exercise an international

police power. This seems to have reduced Santo Domingo to the position of a disguised protectorate, and by Latin Americans this action of the United States has been regarded with suspicion.

The relation of the United States with the South American states since their independence has been much less important than that with Mexico, the Central American states, or the islands. With four of the republics, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Uruguay, the United States has had practically no political dealings. In 1831 a slight difficulty with Argentina over the seizure of American fishing vessels resulted in the removal, by an American warship, of the Argentina colony on the Falkland Islands. This loss was followed, two years later, by the seizure of the islands by Great Britain. Argentina has claimed that her loss of these islands was due to the United States. Some difficulty with Paraguay over that republic's interference with the navigation of the Paraguay River was settled in 1850 by the visit of an armed expedition. In 1893 American warships in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro almost came into conflict with Brazilian warships, but as the Brazilian fleet was in the hands of rebel forces and was later overcome there was no break in the harmony between the two governments. With Chile American relations have not been so harmonious. Secretary Blaine, in 1881, attempted to mediate between Chile and Peru, with the result that Chile was angered. Ten years later, in the Chilean civil war, the American minister unwisely took the side of President Balmaceda, which greatly offended the victorious Congress. While the feeling against the United States was still strong American sailors were attacked by a Chilean mob in Valparaiso, which almost led the two nations into war. The United States sent an ultimatum, and Chile submitted. These incidents have continued to rankle, and the relations between Chile and the United States have not been as cordial as with the other large South American states. The relations between the United States and Colombia have already been outlined above, in discussing the Panama Canal negotiations. Relations with Venezuela have been chiefly

Political Relations Between the United States and the South American Republics

those which have grown out of the boundary dispute with Great Britain in 1895 and the dispute with Germany, Italy, and Great Britain, in 1902–1903, over their claims on Venezuela.

The Monroe Doctrine

The attitude of the Latin-American states toward the Monroe Doctrine is a matter little understood by the people of the United States. From the date of its appearance in 1823 down to the present time the doctrine has met with practically universal approval by the people of the United States, but they have not taken the trouble to find out how it has been received by the people of the South or Central American states. The doctrine proclaims: (1) that the American continents are not subjects for future colonization by any European powers, and (2) that any interference for the purpose of controlling or oppressing the independent governments of America by European powers would be considered as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. The people of the United States have been proud of this doctrine, for they have looked upon it as a means by which they have guarded liberty. It means to the average American that the United States has voluntarily taken upon herself the protection of democracy in the New World. Nor has the average American looked upon the doctrine as a means of territorial aggrandizement. To the Latin American, however, it has a far different meaning.

How the People of the United States Think of the Monroe Doctrine

The Monroe Doctrine now stands for much that was not imagined at the time of its announcement. Down to the Mexican War it was not an offense to the Latin-American people; they regarded it as a means for their protection, and were seemingly grateful for it. In those early years it was purely a defensive measure, but since those days it has undergone a great transformation. In recent years the United States has lost ground with the Latin-American peoples. This is especially true since the Venezuelan controversy and the ensuing proclamation of President Cleveland and Secretary Olney.

The Monroe Doctrine Transformed into an Offensive Doctrine

For many years there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana. Venezuela had attempted on a number of occasions to draw the United States into the controversy, but up to 1895 she had not been successful. By this time the question had become more acute, due to the discovery of gold in the disputed region. For this reason President Cleveland decided to handle the question, and declared that it was the duty of the United States, under the Monroe Doctrine, to insist upon a judicial settlement. On June 20, 1895, the American secretary of state, Mr. Olney, sent a dispatch to Great Britain setting forth President Cleveland's views. The message stated that "Any permanent union between a European and an American state" is unnatural and inexpedient, and further on announced that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." These declarations were astonishing both to Great Britain and the South American states, and were at once disputed by Great Britain. President Cleveland, however, insisted that Great Britain arbitrate, even threatening war. Great Britain finally consented to arbitrate and the incident was closed.

The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute and Olney's Interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine

The outcome of this controversy was a triumph for the United States, and since that time "they have seldom let slip a chance to reiterate their belief in it" (the Monroe Doctrine). This incident served also to bring the Monroe Doctrine much more prominently to the notice of the outside world. Again, in 1902, President Roosevelt asserted the principle of the doctrine in compelling Germany to arbitrate in another dispute with Venezuela. Intervention in Latin-American affairs has become more frequent. Through American intervention Panama was set apart from Colombia in 1903; Santo Domingo, as well as Guatemala and Honduras, have been taken under financial tutelage, while in 1906 the Cuban revolution was suppressed by American arms. The recent revolution in Mexico resulted in the invasion of Mexican territory by American troops, and much suspicion

Recent Examples of American Intervention

and distrust was aroused, not only in Mexico, but among the other Latin-American states. Many American newspapers urged the permanent occupation of Mexico, and American capitalists, with investments in Mexico, likewise advocated the pacification of the country for their benefit.

A Latin American recently began a discussion of what he termed "the North American peril" with these words: "To save themselves from Yankee imperialism the American democracies would almost accept a German alliance or the aid of Japanese arms; everywhere the Americans of the North are feared." This brilliant writer sees in the United States two parties in respect to Latin America, one represented by Mr. Root, who in the Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 said: "We do not wish to win victories, we desire no territory but our own, nor a sovereignty more extensive than that which we desire to retain over ourselves. We consider that the independence and the equal rights of the smallest and weakest members of the family of nations deserves as much respect as those of the great empires." The other party is represented by the imperialistic declaration of Mr. Olney in 1895: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." The people of Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru resent the idea of the Monroe Doctrine. They realize that there is slight danger of any European tyrant enslaving them, and they refuse to receive the protection of the United States where no protection is needed or wanted. The great newspapers of Latin America have almost unanimously in recent years opposed the Monroe Doctrine. One of the leading papers of Peru had this to say in regard to the doctrine: "Respect for the political sovereignty and the commercial independence of Latin America, which the government of the United States sets forth so freely on every occasion, is not able to counteract nor to lessen the eloquence of deeds, and these are the deeds: tutelage over Cuba; abduction of Panama; the embargo on the customhouses of Santo Domingo; economic and military intervention in Central America; the

How Latin Americans View the Monroe Doctrine

'big stick,' dollar diplomacy, and the Lodge declaration." This is a compact statement of Latin-American opinion of the Monroe Doctrine.

In recent years there have arisen a number of advocates in the United States favoring the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine as being a hindrance to the best relations between the two Americas. The chief supporter of this policy is Professor Hiram Bingham, of Yale University. The reasons he gives for abandoning the doctrine are as follows: (1) The original Monroe Doctrine has been disregarded on several occasions by the United States herself; (2) There is no longer any danger of any European power extending their system to this hemisphere; (3) The larger of the Latin-American states are no longer infants and therefore resent our interference in their affairs, and we could be better friends without it; (4) Their friendship is worth having, and we cannot afford to treat them so as to estrange them; (5) The modern form which the Monroe Doctrine has taken, known as the "American policeman" idea, is not only liable to cost us the friendship of the Latin-American states, but also the friendship of the European states as well; (6) We should give up the Monroe Doctrine because the premises on which it was founded no longer exist.

Shall the Monroe Doctrine Be Abandoned?

In the light of the revelations which were made within the last few months, relative to the operations and purposes of Germany in Latin America, it is quite probable that opposition to the Monroe Doctrine, both in Latin America and in the United States, will be somewhat lessened. That there has been danger from German ambitions in the western hemisphere is now quite evident, and there would seem to be indications that the Latin-American states would be less resentful toward the United States and the Monroe Doctrine. There is no indication whatever that the United States will abandon the Monroe Doctrine because of her participation in the European war; rather her defense of the principle of the doctrine will become even more tenacious.

Effects of the European War Upon the Monroe Doctrine

Pan-Americanism

The idea that all the republics of the New World should draw closer together has become known as Pan-Americanism. This idea was first advanced by James G. Blaine when secretary of state in President Garfield's cabinet,[1] and was again taken up by him when he became secretary of state in President Harrison's Cabinet. In one sense this idea is an outgrowth of the Monroe Doctrine, while in another it is the abnegation of the doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine means something imposed upon Latin America, whether they want it or not. Pan-Americanism means the cooperation of all the republics in carrying out any policy affecting the two Americas.

Pan-Americanism Defined

Secretary Blaine proposed a Pan-American Congress in 1881, but when he went out of office after Garfield's death his Latin-American policy was dropped. The first Congress was held in 1889–1890, when Blaine returned to office under Harrison, and at this first Pan-American meeting Blaine played the chief role. Many delegates attended from Latin America. There was much speech-making, and altogether the Congress left a good impression and promoted better understanding between the various American states. Its chief accomplishment was the creation of the Bureau of American Republics, with headquarters at Washington. This organization has continued its work until the present time, and has done much toward increasing American knowledge and interest in Latin America.

The First Pan-American Congress, 1889–1890

A second Pan-American Congress met in the City of Mexico in 1901–1902. This conference accomplished little of importance. A third Congress was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1906, which proved much more successful than either of its forerunners. Among the things accomplished was the reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics. The Bureau was given authority to correspond with the various American

[1] Bolivar, in a sense, was the originator of the Pan-American idea, and the first Pan-American Congress met at his call at Panama in 1826. To Henry Clay belongs the honor of being the first Pan-American in the United States. (See Chandler, Inter-American Acquaintances, Chapter IV, on the "Pan Americanism of Henry Clay.")

governments, when it had certain matters to recommend, such as the ratification of treaties, and its action took on a semi-official stamp. Into its hands also was placed the responsibility of preparing programs for future Congresses, and its scope in a number of other directions was considerably enlarged. Provision was also made for the securing of a building at Washington to house the Bureau. This has since been erected. The Bureau is now composed of a governing board consisting of the secretary of state of the United States and the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the other American republics. It publishes an official bulletin and descriptive pamphlets, has collected a large library, and has served in many ways to spread information. At the third Congress Mr. Root, the head of the American Cabinet, was the official representative from the United States. He made an excellent impression upon Latin Americans both by his bearing and speeches.

The Second and Third Pan-American Congresses and the Pan-American Union

A fourth Congress met in the city of Buenos Ayres in 1910, and a fifth was due to meet five years later, but owing to the breaking out of the present war the meeting has not yet been held.

Those Americans who understand their southern neighbors best feel strongly that the United States cannot afford longer to disregard the opinion of the Latin-American states. The larger states, especially Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, ought certainly to be taken into the councils of the United States in determining Latin-American affairs. It has been wisely suggested that instead of keeping the Monroe Doctrine for the United States to enforce alone, it should become Pan-American in its scope. If the United States would share the responsibility which the Monroe Doctrine imposes upon her with the other republics, Latin-American criticism and distrust of the United States would likely disappear. That Pan-Americanism is gaining in the United States is evidenced by recent statements of President Wilson.

Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine

The present war is also having beneficial influence in strengthening Pan-Americanism. Five of the Latin republics

The Present War and Pan-Americanism

have made declarations of war against Germany, and have declared their intention of standing with the United States on the issues before the world. This cannot help but strengthen the ties binding the two Americas. Never has the United States been so desirous of the good opinion of Latin America, and this desire is being manifested in a greater effort to allay the suspicion which Latin Americans have long felt toward their neighbor to the north.

Commerce

Latin American Foreign Trade

The two leading nations in Latin America, in the volume of their foreign trade, are Argentina and Brazil. Ranking next come Cuba, Mexico, and Chile, while Uruguay, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela belong to a third group. Paraguay, Nicaragua, and Honduras with Ecuador have the least foreign trade. The total Latin American trade in 1913 was $2,874,529,054, and of this total 53 per cent was exports and 47 per cent imports. Of the countries interested in this trade Great Britain led with 27 per cent; Germany came second with 18 per cent; the United States third with 17 per cent; France fourth with 9 per cent.

The Export Trade

The United States holds first place in the export trade of all the republics bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, except Guatemala. In Brazilian export trade the United States also holds first place. With the other South American states, however, the United States ranks after Great Britain. The United States and Great Britain share first rank among the foreign nations from which the Latin-American states receive most of their imported goods. The United States surpasses Great Britain in the import trade of all the republics of North America, and in none of the republics of South America except Colombia and Venezuela.

The Import Trade

The effect of the present war upon Latin-American trade has been marked. Previous to 1914 Germany had gained a large share of South and Central American commerce, and in several of the republics took rank after Great Britain in the

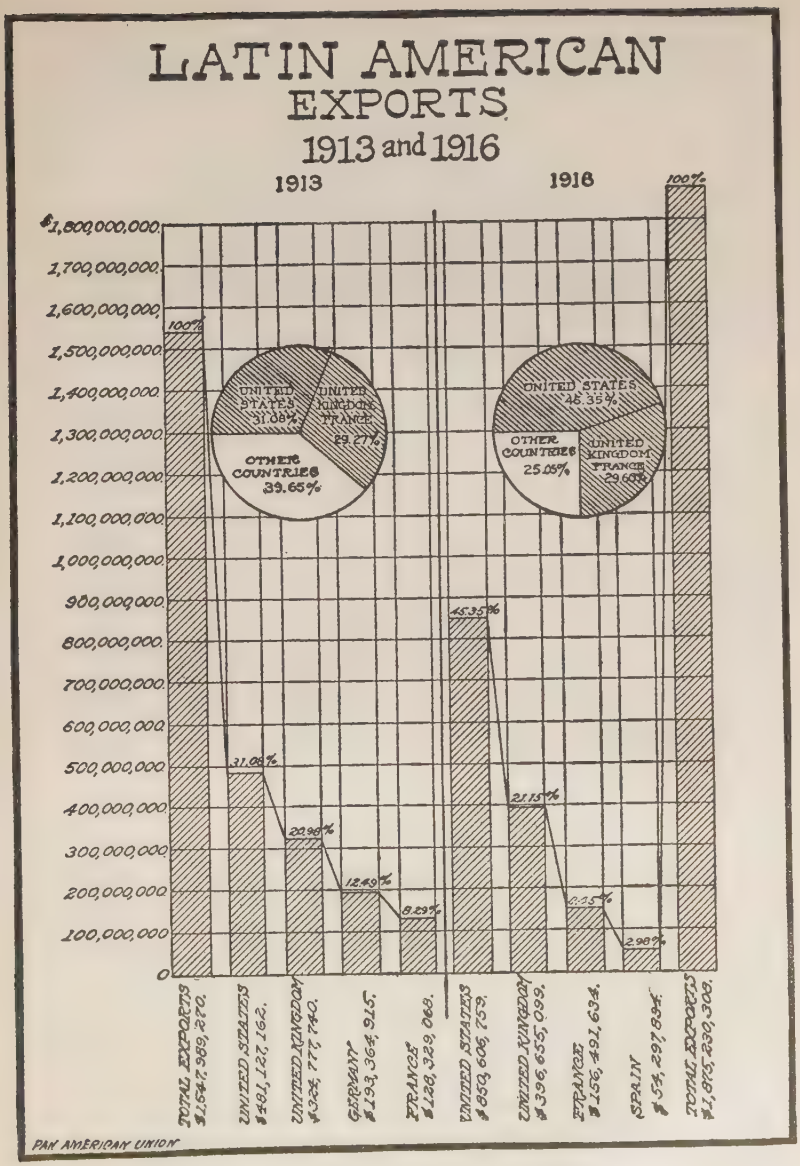
volume of trade. The war has completely cut off this German trade, with the result that much of it has come to the United States. In 1913 the Latin-American exports were distributed as follows: 31.09 per cent to the United States; 29.27 per cent to Great Britain; and all other countries 39.65 per cent. In 1916 the United States had 45.35 per cent of the export trade, Great Britain had increased slightly over 1913, while the exports to other countries had fallen to 25.05 per cent. Even a greater increase is noted in the volume of Latin-American import trade. In 1913 the United States sent 24.79 per cent of the total imports into Latin America, while in 1916 the United States' share of the Latin-American import trade was 51.17 per cent. In 1913 Great Britain and France, combined, had 32.07 per cent of the import trade, but in 1916 their share had fallen to 22.87 per cent. The share of all other countries fell during the same years from 43.14 per cent to 25.96 per cent.

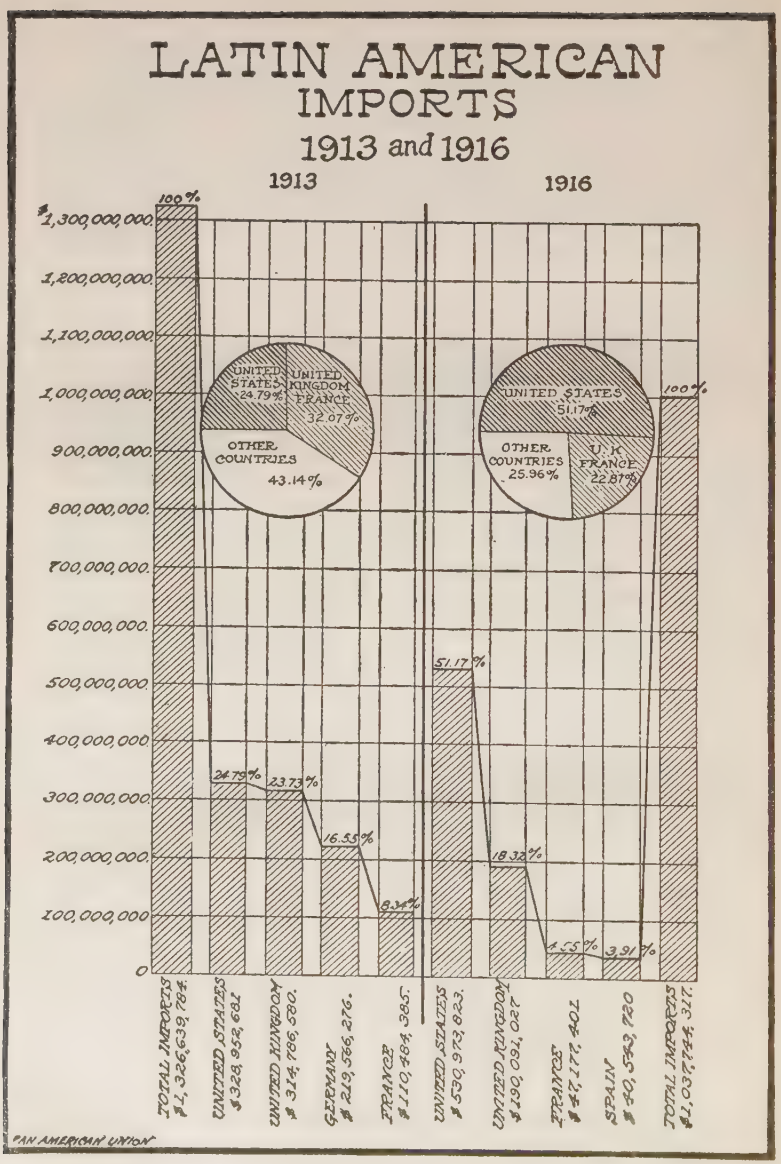
Effects of the Present War Upon Latin-American Trade

The effect of the opening of the Panama Canal upon commercial relations with Latin America can only be determined by the future. It has not yet been in operation long enough to even approximate its influence. Then the fact that its opening took place since the European war began makes impossible an estimate of its influence during normal times. That its influence has been overestimated is probably true. It will decrease by three thousand miles the distance from the Pacific ports of South America to the southern and eastern ports of the United States, which will cheapen such products as phosphates and Bolivian tin. It will not, however, decrease in the least the distance between the Atlantic ports of South America and the eastern ports of the United States.

Probable Effect of the Panama Canal Upon Commerce

Latin-American products are needed as never before. The world is hungry and Latin America is rich in food. Wheat and meats, coffee and cocoa are staple products which the world demands. Her hides and rubber, besides her vast supply of minerals—copper, tin, lead, phosphates, oil—all will be needed in the period of reconstruction when the war is over. It looks very much as though Latin America's time had come. Political


LATIN AMERICAN
EXPORTS
1913 and 1916
1913
1916
$1,800,000,000.
1,700,000,000.
1,600,000,000.
1,500,000,000.
1,400,000,000.
1,300,000,000.
1,200,000,000.
1,100,000,000.
1,000,000,000.
900,000,000.
800,000,000.
700,000,000.
600,000,000.
500,000,000.
400,000,000.
300,000,000.
200,000,000.
100,000,000.
0
100%
UNITED STATES 31.08%
UNITED KINGDOM FRANCE 29.27%
OTHER COUNTRIES 39.65%
UNITED STATES 45.35%
OTHER COUNTRIES 25.05%
UNITED KINGDOM FRANCE 29.60%
100%
31.08%
22.98%
12.49%
8.29%
45.35%
21.15%
8.35%
2.98%
TOTAL EXPORTS $1,547,969,270.
UNITED STATES $481,122,162.
UNITED KINGDOM $355,777,140.
GERMANY $193,364,915.
FRANCE $128,329,068.
UNITED STATES $859,606,759.
UNITED KINGDOM $396,655,099.
FRANCE $156,491,634.
SPAIN $54,297,634.
TOTAL EXPORTS $1,895,230,309.
PAN AMERICAN UNION


LATIN AMERICAN IMPORTS
1913 and 1916
1913
1916
100%
$1,300,000,000.
1,200,000,000.
1,100,000,000.
1,000,000,000.
900,000,000.
800,000,000.
700,000,000.
600,000,000.
500,000,000.
400,000,000
300,000,000.
200,000,000.
100,000,000
0
UNITED STATES 24.79%
UNITED KINGDOM
FRANCE 32.07%
OTHER COUNTRIES 43.14%
UNITED STATES 51.17%
OTHER COUNTRIES 25.96%
U.K.
FRANCE 22.87%
100%
24.79%
23.73%
16.55%
8.34%
51.17%
18.32%
4.55%
3.91%
TOTAL IMPORTS $1,326,639,794.
UNITED STATES $329,952,681
UNITED KINGDOM $314,786,580.
GERMANY $219,586,276.
FRANCE $110,484,385.
UNITED STATES $530,973,823.
UNITED KINGDOM $190,060,021
FRANCE $47,172,401
SPAIN $40,543,720
TOTAL IMPORTS $1,037,744,317.
PAN AMERICAN UNION

stability is on the increase, financial responsibility is assured, while the relations between the two Americas are becoming more and more cordial. Economically Latin America is bound to progress more in the next fifty years than in the previous four hundred.

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A history of Latin America.
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